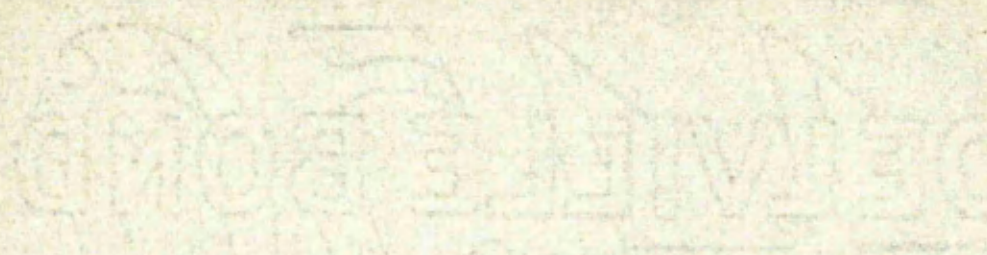


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/ Malay Sufism / as illustrated in an  
anonymous collection of 17th Century tracts

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

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by

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Malay Sufism as illustrated in an anonymous  
collection of 17th Century tracts



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## INTRODUCTION

It was Muslim learning that provided raw material which contributed towards the development of Christian Scholasticism in the West. Islam also spread Eastwards, extending North-East through central Asia as far as China, South-West to India, and from India to the Malay Archipelago. The philosophy and mystical theology which developed during the first five centuries of Islam and which played a part in the growth of similar studies in Western Christendom were thus carried to the furthest limits of the Muslim World.

The subject of this thesis is an anonymous collection of Sūfī ~~ex~~tracts composed at Aceh in North Sumatra which was one of these limits. Detailed study of the doctrinal development of Islam in Indonesia has been almost exclusively a Dutch preserve, so that as far as I know this is the first thesis on the subject written for an English University. Dutch work in this field has generally taken the form of theses to satisfy University of Leiden requirements for the degree of Doctor of Letters, and the most important works in chronological order are: Rinkes - Abdoerraoef van Singkel (1909); Schrieke - Het Boek van Bonang (1916); Kraemer - Een Javaansche Primbon uit de zestiende eeuw; Drewes - Drie Javaansche Goeroes (1925); Doorenbos - De Geschriften



van Hamzah Pansoeri (1933); Zoetmulder - Pantheïsme en Monïsme in de Javaansche soeloek literatuur (1935); C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze - Shamsu'l-Dīn van Pasai (1945). Of these only three are directly concerned with Malay authors - although Kraemer gives an excellent general account of the mysticism of North Sumatra during the first half of the 17th century<sup>1)</sup> - and of these Rinkes, notwithstanding he is writing on a Sumatran is interested mainly in the spread of the Shāṭṭariya order in Java, and in any case has not made any text available. Van Nieuwenhuijze has produced an encyclopaedic work on Shamsu'l-Dīn, giving a full account of his teaching and synopses of the majority of MSS attributed to him, but has edited only two Arabic texts. Doorenbos it is true, had edited the works of Hamzah, but apart from this, little of Malay mystical writing is accessible to scholars.

The presentation of indigenous Islamic writings is useful for several reasons. Such documents throw light on Malay civilisation at its greatest (in Malacca and Aceh). Now there may be a tendency to think that Malacca ( and afterwards Aceh) were comparatively minor outposts at an extremity of the Muslim world, but in the later Middle Ages this was far from being the case, for first one and then the other were key points in a great Muslim trading

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1) H. Kraemer: Een Javaansche Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw. p.21 et seq.



system which it was the purpose of the Portuguese to capture or destroy. The availability of religious documents in particular, by throwing light on cultural contacts will throw new light on the day to day relations between the states of the Archipelago with each other and with India and <sup>the</sup> Near East. The sea bears no tracks; only fragmentary evidence of material goods remains; linguistics is a highly specialised science, but the traffic in ideas crystallised in contemporary writings is evidence for all to see.

Another interesting point is that we find preserved, as if in a museum, the effect upon a language of a sudden influx of new ideas and vocabulary and the manner in which this language reflects the effort to express something new. This is doubly interesting, for the same phenomenon is taking place to-day; and the process given so powerful an impetus then is taking place even more rapidly now.

Then there is the self-evident point that a full assessment of the nature and quality of Indonesian Islam is not possible until a far wider range of primary sources is available than at present. Finally there is the religious content of such writings, and the light they throw on the Indonesian mentality in its approach to religious questions. It is true that the conceptual



groundwork of the tracts may seem unfamiliar to modern eyes. But similar metaphysical concepts played a decisive role in the development of Greek, Alexandrine and afterwards Christian religious thought. In any case the religious mind cannot work without concepts to build on, even if eventually it is able to pass beyond all concepts. So that even if the scale of the seven grades of being which is the basis of the teaching of these tracts is pure metaphor, it is metaphor which is fitted for what it was intended. And in the last resort the mystics we treat of here would freely admit that any attempt to define absolute being can result only in metaphor.

The tracts which are the subject of this thesis are bound in a single volume as No. 11648 of the Marsden Collection in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. It is described by Marsden as "An exposition of the mystical doctrine of the Sufis in the Malayan language. Written at Pasae near Achin in a character remarkably well formed".<sup>1)</sup> Some extracts were translated by Marsden and published in his dictionary,<sup>2)</sup> and these versions are included in the appendix. There is also a copy of the same MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris catalogued as: Malayo Polynésien 31.

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1) Bibliotheca Marsdeniana. W. Marsden. London 1827, p. 305

2) A Grammar of the Malayan Language. W. Marsden. London, 1812, p. 216-220



This is a verbatim copy of the Marsden text made for Dularier, and thus offers no help towards the solution of any difficulties.

The volume, as numbered, has 325 pages and contains 18 tracts, the first of which lacks a beginning and the last an end, <sup>and</sup> all of ~~which~~ are written in the same hand. Before the fly-leaf are inserted three tattered leaves in the same hand-writing as the rest and dealing with the same subjects, but which find no place in it; neither are they themselves consecutive. Blank spaces on some leaves have been written on by a different and later hand, and on one is written "this book belongs to Muhammad 'Abd al-Latīf.<sup>1)</sup> The paper is probably local, for it has neither water-mark nor lines, and seems to be made from bark.

The spelling is archaic: in many cases a final vowel which would be written in modern Malay is omitted e.g.: Kamu oléh-mu bagi terbuni lagi. Exceptions are certain Sanskrit words such as maha. and bijaksana

The medial vowel in a closed syllable is omitted e.g.: sasab menyerahkan betul sungguh terdinding It is usually written

1) Ms p. 153



in an open penultimate e.g. kasēh berolēh berole.  
pehak, but even then is omitted occasionally e.g.  
segala siki and bagi iki.

In derivatives the vowel is often shifted to the penultimate of the derived form, and words which are ordinarily written without a final vowel have the vowel inserted before a suffix e.g., memasoki peraturan kembali-lah daripada-nya guru-mu bagi-mu 'ilmu-nya terdindingi

That the vowel should so mechanically be shifted to the open penultimate may be an indication of the accent in Malay at that time. But there are a few exceptions e.g.,

memohonkan, <sup>though</sup> ~~but~~ this may be a slip. Words where confusion is possible are vocalised as in Arabic e.g., tanggal peraturan kami kamu 'G is regularly written Arabic words naturally follow the Arabic system.

There are several examples of old morphological forms e.g., memacha is written regularly for membacha; similarly memichara for membichara. Dualapan is written for delapan, and there are such old forms as ngaruniaí, karunia and anugerahai; other examples are: akshara, manushia, neshchaya, perēksha.



Likewise there are old words not known in modern Malay, e.g., maya meaning 'what' or 'how' is used in the same way as in the Sejarah Melayu and the Hikayat Raja<sub>2</sub> Pasai. e.g., 'dengan maya kaukenal Allah'; there is belum-pai and tiada-pai in the meaning of belum lagi. There is also a tendency to use a Sanskrit term where later texts use Arabic ones e.g., Hurūf 'Aliyāt is rendered 'akshara yang maha tinggi'.<sup>1)</sup>

In addition the latest quotations are from Shamsu'l-Dīn's (d.1630) Jauhar al-Ḥakā'ik and an unnamed work by Sharīf 'Aidarūs an Indian author (d.1628). It seems probable then that even if this copy does not date back to the first half of the seventeenth century, it is taken from an original that did.

The MS states that it is written in the language of the people of Pasai<sup>2)</sup> and an occasional Achenese word strengthens the possibility that it comes from North Sumatra e.g., urēh, line is used several times. In one place the word mukammal is clearly vocalised mukammil, this might very well be a slip, but is also an Achenese corruption. Further laku is used with the meaning 'the manner of doing something'.<sup>3)</sup>

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1) e.g. in Al-Raniri's Jawahir al 'ulūm fī kash al-ma' lūm. Marsden collection S.O.A.S. Ms 12151 p.89, and 'Abd al Ra'uf's Daka'ik al-Hurūf Leiden Cod.Or.7643 p.132 both 17th century texts where the Arabic word 'huruf' is used in the Malay version.

2) Ms. p.204. 3) cp. Atjehsch Nederlands Woordenboek: Djajadiningrat, Batavia, 1934



The general outlines of the story of the arrival of Islam in North Sumatra and its spread through the Malay Archipelago are well-known. The first states to embrace Islam were those of Pasai (later a port of Aceh) and Samudra on the North coast of Sumatra, and the first Muslim ruler of Pasai died in 1297. In 1416 the Chinese found the Sumatran peoples of Aru, Samudra, Pedir and Lambri all Muslims and record that the ruler of Malacca had embraced Islam by 1404 through marriage with a Pasai princess.<sup>1)</sup> This opinion is reinforced by the fact that Malacca depended on Pasai for its rice supply. It was from Aceh too in the first place that Islam spread along the trade routes to Tanjong Pura and Palembang and thence to the ports of the north coast of Java; by the middle of the sixteenth century Islam had reached the Moluccas and Bandan and by the early 17th century Macassar and the Bugis were Muslim.

Islam had come to Pasai from India, but with the growth of Malacca the importance of Pasai declined, and the trade which had brought Islam to Pasai was diverted to the new port. Da'lbuquerque describes the situation and development of Malacca thus: "....There are no storms

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1) R. O. Winstedt: A History of Malay Literature, p.58.



to injure it and never was a ship lost there. It forms a point where some monsoons commence and others end, so that the inhabitants of Malacca call those of India people of the West, and the Javanese, Chinese and Gores and all others of those Islanders, people of the East; and Malacca is the middle of all this .... and those which come from the East to the West find here western merchandise, and carry it away with them, leaving that which they bring of theirs instead, and in like manner do they who come from the west. By these means Malacca gradually increased to so great an extent that whereas the place used once to be a village of Pacé (Pasai), Pacé became at length a village of Malacca'.<sup>1)</sup> So that Malacca received Islam first from Pasai and subsequently through direct trade contacts with India and the Middle East. Contacts with India and Persia left their mark on other branches of Malay literature: the romances of Amir Hamzah and Muhammad Hanafiyah were translated from the Persian; the Sejarah Melayu contains Persian verses and words rare in Malay. In the same work the title Makhdum, as in India is applied to religious teachers, a use which is unknown in the Middle East.<sup>2)</sup>

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1) Hakluyt Society 62. Commentaries of Dalboquerque. Vol. III, p. 84 et seq.

2) cp. Sir Richard Winstedt: A History of Malay Literature, p.50.



By virtue of the development of Malacca as a Muslim port the Malay world was drawn into the stream and trade of Asia as a whole extending from Egypt, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, West India, East India, the islands of the Archipelago and China. Malacca at its peak then was not only the lynch-pin of a vast trading system, and thus an international city, but was also the pivot of political power in the area, and, as the religious heart of an expanding Islamic community a centre of Muslim learning.

The Sejarah Melayu throws some interesting sidelights on this. For example we read of a certain Maulana Abu-Bakar arriving at Malacca bearing a book entitled Durr Manzum. Sultan Mansur Shah received him with honour and sent the work to Pasai to be translated. The same Sultan also sent Tun Bija Wangsa to Pasai to ask whether those in Heaven and Hell remained there for all eternity. At first his messenger received the orthodox answer - that this was the case. On his complaining however that the people of Malacca already knew this he was given the esoteric answer viz. that the sufferings of the damned would be turned to pleasure.<sup>1)</sup> Later we read of Sultan Mahmud <sup>referring</sup> ~~sending~~ <sup>another</sup> a theological problem to Pasai.<sup>2)</sup> It is

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1) Sejarah Melayu - R. O. Winstedt. p.127-8 Translation C. C. Brown p.101 ~~etc.~~ This is the teaching of Al-Jili in the Insān al-Kāmil. cp. Nicholson: Studies in Islamic Mysticism p. 136.

2) Sejarah Melayu p.178. C. C. Brown Translation p.154



also related he tried to dissuade his father from going to Mecca, for, he claimed, Malacca was the right Mesca,<sup>1)</sup> and in the Babad Tanah Djawi we read of Santri Bonang, a famous Javanese saint, and Santri Giri going to Malacca for a year to study under Wali Lanang.<sup>2)</sup>

It is difficult to realize fully the importance of Malacca to the Muslim world of that time; but some idea may be formed of it from the fact that the Indonesian Islamic community now is the second largest in the world. That this community has not the importance proportionate to its numbers may be due to the domination of India and the Indonesian countries by European powers, and the trading system which had been so strong a bond between them likewise falling into European hands. Lack of political unity and the fact that the Indonesians do not appear to have been original thinkers, however, may have been equally important causes.

After the capture of Malacca by the Portuguese in 1511 a new centre of Muslim trade developed in Acheh, a state which did not begin to emerge until the beginning of the sixteenth century when Pasai was the dominant

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1) R. O. Winstedt: History of Malay, p.52.

2) Babad Tanah Djawi, ed. Meinsma, p.21.



power in North Sumatra. Its first ruler was 'Alī Mughāyat Shāh who had been ruler of Pedir, a vassal state of Pasai. In 1521 the Portuguese intervened in Pasai to set up a new ruler. A year later 'Alī rebelled and overthrew the suzerainty of Pasai. In 1524 he captured Pasai, destroyed a fort the Portuguese had founded there and massacred the inhabitants. He died in 1528 leaving Aceh an independent state. He was succeeded by a series of strong rulers, and under 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Kahhār (1537-68) Aceh became a powerful state which fought with equal ferocity the Portuguese and the kingdom of Johore.<sup>1)</sup> To reinforce his armies he hired mercenaries from the Gujerat, Malabar, Abbyssinia and Turkey.<sup>2)</sup>

Under his rule Achenese gains were consolidated, and during the remainder of the century expanded, so that Aceh conquered the Bataks, thus winning control of the rice-lands gained political control of the southern pepper areas and about 1579 conquered Perak. Between this date and 1641 Aceh was at its greatest, and as an international port, a political fulcrum of opposition to the Portuguese and a religious centre had established itself as successor to Malacca.

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1) Encyclopaedia of Islam, art. Atjeh.

2) R. O. Winstedt. A History of Malaya, p. 80.



It was during this period that the two most famous heterodox mystics lived: Hamzah Fansuri and Shamsu'l-Dīn. The exact dates of Hamzah are unknown. What does seem certain is that he preceded Shamsu'l-Dīn.<sup>1)</sup> and it is known that Shamsu'l-Dīn died in 1630<sup>2)</sup> and, what is more interesting, that he may have been the Archbishop who received the English Captain James Lancaster at the court of 'Ala' al-Dīn Ri'āyat Shāh in 1602.<sup>3)</sup>

There are two other important names in the Achenese religious history of this century: Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn ibn 'Alī al-Rānirī and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel. The former was a Gujerati who arrived in Acheh about 1637 and wrote strenuously against the heterodox pantheism of Hamzah and Shamsu'l-Dīn; 'Abd al-Ra'ūf on the other hand was a native Sumatran who studied under Ahmad Qushāshī<sup>4)</sup> and Mulla Ibrāhīm<sup>5)</sup> in Mecca for many years before returning to Acheh in 1661 to propagate the Shaṭṭāriya order there. His intellectual outlook was virtually the same as that of al-Rānirī, but he had none of the former's fierce intolerance.

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1) Van Nieuwenhuize: Shamsu'l-Dīn van Pasai. diss. Leiden 1945.

2) op. cit. p. 15.

4) d. 1660 cp. Brockelmann G II 392

3) op. cit. p. 17.

5) d. 1690 " " " " "



Thus the stage is set for these tracts at the period of Acheh's greatest power, and it is in the light of the teachings of these four great protagonists that they will be examined.

In general the tracts are of the heretical pantheistic type. Two themes are central: the unity of God and the universe (hence these Ṣūfīs are referred to as the Wujūdīyya), and the unique position of man who is a perfect reflection of the Essence and Attributes of God. In form they seem to be a series of lectures on various aspects of Ṣūfī teaching which the Guru reads to his disciples (In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate I begin to read....). The author is a man of considerable erudition for he draws not only on local authorities, but also upon several from India and the Middle East. The isolated way in which some topics are dealt with e.g. Fayḍ and 'Azal and abad<sup>1)</sup> make it clear that the author presupposes a great deal of knowledge on his students' part, otherwise much of what he says would be unintelligible. It follows then that the main outlines of the system were familiar. On the whole they are scholarly and lucid, and that is no mean achievement in a language so lacking in abstract as

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1) Tracts 14 and 17 respectively.



Malay. Lucidity, however, is a relative matter. The style is enough to baffle anyone accustomed to the balance and polish of traditional classical Malay. The reason for this lies in the fact that all these religious authors thought in terms of Arabic; and when they translated their versions were slavishly literal. What, for example, is to be made of the sentence: Kamu kerjakan-lah barang kehendak kamu, maka tiap~~4~~<sup>2</sup> yang di-mudahkan itu bagi yang di-jadikan bagi-nya.

It is only when considered in relation to the Arabic sentence it is a 'translation' of i.e. If'a<sup>lū</sup> mā shi'tum, kullun muyassarun li mā khulika lahu, that the meaning becomes clear!<sup>1)</sup> Similarly, the sentence: Maka upama mertabat la ta'ayyun dan ahadiat sirfah ita dengan mertabat ta 'ayyun awwal dan wahdat itu -- maka bagi Allah ta'ala<sup>g</sup> <sup>dua</sup> upama yang maha tinggi -- saperti upama suatu chahaya dengan terang - nya.<sup>2)</sup> is unintelligible unless one realises that the words in parenthesis are a literal translation of a ḡuranic verse (ḡur. 16:60) To God is due the loftiest similitude (wa li'llāhi'l-mathalun al-a'lā.) frequently quoted when a metaphor is adduced concerning things Divine; and that the normal Arabic construction for

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1) Ms P. 34/35.

2) Ms P. 178/179



a simile is: The simile that is adduced is a simile of...<sup>1)</sup>  
 Once one is familiar with the style, however, this religious Malay is lucid and consistent.

One fact which emerges clearly from these tracts is the homogeneous quality of Muslim thought throughout the world. For Islam, although a religion without a central teaching authority is nevertheless an organic body, and doctrines which gain a footing at one end of it circulate freely to the other extremity. Sir Richard Winstedt has well said that "in its chances and changes the Muhammadanism of the Malay has followed the movements of the Muslim world."<sup>2)</sup> It is possible that the cultural background of the Malays predisposed them towards the intellectual form of pantheism which lies at the basis of the teaching of these tracts<sup>3)</sup> but I feel <sup>um</sup>certain of the importance of this factor. The immense emphasis on the unity of God in Islam creates a problem to which pantheism is one solution. If everything is God then the problem of things existing beside Him does not arise. And this is probably one of the reasons why pantheistic monism of the <sup>ibn al-Arabi</sup>~~type expounded by the Arabs~~

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- 1) For discussions on the influence of Arabic on Malay syntax see: Van Ronkel: Over invloed der Arabische syntaxis op de Maleis. T.B.G. 41 p. 498-528 and G. W. J. Drewes: De herkomst van het voegwoord bahwasanja. Bingkisan Budi p. 104.  
 2) The Malays: A cultural History. Ed. 1950 p. 38  
 3) Van Nieuwenhuize op. cit. p.39 et seq.



has plagued speculative Islam in much the same way as the Augustinian theology of grace, which lay at the basis of heresies of the Albigensian and Jansenist types, has plagued Christendom.

At this particular point of historical development I think that emphasis must be laid in the first place on the international character of this teaching, especially in view of the fact that the kingdoms of northern Sumatra had been Muslim for over four hundred years; this is made more obvious when we consider that Islam flourished most when the locality was an international centre. Islam first spread from Pasai; when Malacca became prosperous it replaced Pasai as a centre of religious learning. When Aceh became again the political and commercial power in the area, it became the religious centre again as well.

This is not to deny that local conditions did not have an effect on this kind of teaching later, especially in Java,<sup>1)</sup> but only that at this period, in respect of these tracts and the authors we have been considering, this effect was not of primary importance.

The succeeding chapters will consist of (1) a sketch of the development of Sūfī teaching in as much as this is necessary for the understanding of the tracts; (2) a synopsis of their teaching; (3) a discussion of their

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1) Drewes. diss. p. 48.



relation to other contemporary work and an attempt to  
assign them to a school; (4) Text and translation;  
(5) appendix.

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## CHAPTER 1

In certain developments of thirteenth century Sūfism is to be found the contradiction of three cardinal doctrines of Islam: (1) God, the transcendent ruler of the world has become Being existing under the aspects of immanence and transcendence, in the visible world termed Khalk, and as God termed Hakk; and (2) Muḥammad, the servant of God and His Apostle has been metamorphosed into <sup>(3)</sup> an archetypal being who existed before creation and into whose mouth was put the alleged tradition: I was a prophet while Adam was between clay and water<sup>1)</sup>; so that he becomes a type of Logos standing between God and His creation.

The teaching of these Sumatran tracts is founded on this pattern which found its clearest expression in the Insān al-Kāmil of al-Jīlī<sup>2)</sup>. But both they and it contain elements from other stages in the development of Sufism, and for this reason it is necessary to sketch the salient points of this development, first to make clear their meaning since they are unintelligible without a considerable

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1) cp. Goldziher: Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīth. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. Vol. 22 p. 317.

2) d. 1428 cp. Brockelmann G. II p. 205 S. II p. 283.



background knowledge, and secondly to give some indication of the relation of their teaching to that of the Muslim world in general.

The starting point of Sūfism was in the first place practical consisting in a personal withdrawal from the luxury of urban life to one of simplicity in keeping with the example of the Prophet. But it soon took as its formal object a personal contact (ma'rifa) with God. One method of achieving this was by the recitation of ~~t~~urānic verses to the point that the reciter believed that he heard God saying them<sup>1)</sup>! This was later declared tantamount to admitting incarnation (hulūl) so that the mystics then dissimulated and claimed that by this recitation they did not enter into contact with God Himself but only with the attributes of perfections described by the verse. It may be from notions such as this that the doctrine of annihilation (fana') in God through the recitation of Lā ilāha illā'llāh, and the cosmic importance attached to the Names, Attributes and Essence of God developed.

This aim of achieving a personal contact with God led to theoretical speculation, and the Sūfīs measured the path to God or al-Haqq - a term which was later to become a cardinal hinge in the scheme of Sūfī metaphysics -

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1) cp. Massignon: Kitāb al-Tawāsīn p. 126



by a series of stages and states. Various Ṣūfī teachers enumerate these differently, but the fundamental cleavage between them is that the stages are earned and the states given.

Baghdad became the centre of the Muslim mystic movement after 864 A.D. and it was not long after this that Mansur Ḥallāj was martyred for his exclamation: I am God - a statement which some of the later generations of Ṣūfīs have tried to show is not un-Islamic. Such an interpretation is given in these tracts.

Al-Ḥallāj formulated a theory of creation based on the tradition: God made man in His likeness. As summarized by Massignon the doctrine is briefly this: Prior to everything, before creation, and before His knowledge of creation, God, in His unity was holding an ineffable converse with Himself, contemplating in itself the splendour of His Essence. This radical simplicity of His admiration and acclaim before it is love, which in His Essence is the essence of the essence, above all modality and attributes. In His perfect isolation (infirād) God loved Himself thus and radiated His love. It is this first radiation of love in the Divine Absolute that determined the multiplicity of His attributes and names. God, through His Essence and in His Essence wished to project His love in isolation outside Himself,



to look upon it and speak to it. He looked into pre-eternity and brought forth into it out of nothingness an image of Himself and all His attributes and names: Adam. His Divine glance made this being (shaks) His image for all eternity, and as He manifested Himself through it and in it, this being became Huwa Huwa. From this are derived the two complimentary notions of Godhead (Lāhūt) and Manhood (Nāsūt)<sup>1)</sup>.

It was with this theory that al-Ḥallāj attempted to incorporate in Islam the Christian idea of a Divine and Human nature in one person. In his teaching however, the Divine nature cannot join itself to the human except by a kind of fusion (ḥulūl) similar to that of the human spirit in the human body<sup>2)</sup>, and this makes it clear that his system was dualist. This is very close to the doctrine of the 13th century Ṣūfīs where the Perfect Man is the perfect image of God displaying His names, Attributes and Essence. The essential dualism of al-Ḥallāj however was to be re-thought by ibn al-'Arabī into a system purely monistic.

Christianity thus played a part in the development

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1) Massignon: Kitāb al-Tawāsīn p. 129.

2) op. cit. p. 131.



of al-Ḥallāj's teaching. Another important influence was to come from Neo-Platonism which left its mark on almost all subsequent Muslim metaphysical speculation. Neo-Platonism implies a series of emanations - from the One, which is the source of all, to Spirit (Nous) which is also known as the Intelligible World, to Soul (ψυχή); from Soul is a further descent to matter (ὑλη) which despite its name is not material - and would better be called non-being - and is a mere abstraction, a name for the bare receptacle of forms which descend to it from the Intelligible World<sup>1)</sup>. These emanations were worked out in greater detail by his successors so that a Muslim Neo-Platonist, ibn Sīnā for example included nine or ten<sup>2)</sup>.

From the same sources Islam incorporated a Logos doctrine, and in some of the Sūfī writings we find Muḥammad fulfilling the various activities of the Logos syncretised by Philo who treats of it sometimes as the creative Word of God, sometimes as the revealer of God symbolised in Scripture as the angel of Jahweh, sometimes - after a Platonic concept as the sum total of ideas and Intelligible World and sometimes, after the Stoic theory as the power

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1) op. Inge: The Philosophy of Plotinus 2nd ed. Vol.1 p. 128 et seq.

2) cp. Gardet: La Pensée Religieuse d'Avicenne. Paris 1951 p. 52 et seq.



which upholds the world, the bond that assures its cohesion and the law that determines its development<sup>1)</sup>.

Such is a brief sketch of some of the elements that find a place in the background to the teaching of these tracts. But the greatest single source for all subsequent Sufi speculation was the work of the Spanish mystic ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1221), ~~and~~ to which al-Jīlī's Al-Insān al-kāmil although more readily understandable, added little.

Since however it was Al-Jīlī's work which was the more popular and widely circulated I shall give an exposition of the general outlines of the system from Professor Affifi's Mystical philosophy of Muhyid-Din ibn ul-'Arabī<sup>2)</sup>, and a more detailed description of what our author was writing about from the Insān al-Kāmil. For this I owe a great deal to the second chapter of Nicholson's Studies in Islamic Mysticism<sup>3)</sup>.

Ibn al-'Arabī is an absolute monist. For him there is only one reality, which as Hakk is the essence of all phenomena, and as Khalk is phenomena manifesting essence, for in his view unity means things which although actually identical are conceptually distinguishable, in other

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1) cp. Catholic Encyclopaedia art. Logos

2) Cambridge 1939

3) Cambridge 1921



words which are ontologically one, but epistemologically have two aspects. The One, in fact is the relation of the outward to the inward - of what we know to what Ibn al-'Arabī calls the Huwiyya of God.

It has been stated above that Ḥallāj's theory of Lāhūt and Nāsūt was to be taken up again. Ibn al-'Arabī incorporated it into his system, but with this important difference. Ḥallāj was a dualist, and his two terms indicated two natures whereas ibn al-'Arabī was a monist and his denoted two aspects. He uses various metaphors to explain the relationship of the one to the many. He speaks of a mirror and images, of an object and shadow, of the world as a shadow play, and in one place compares it to a dream - not in the sense that it is unreal, but that all is held in existence by the human consciousness. He also uses mathematical symbols: the one stands to the many, for example, as the mathematical one to the infinite numbers based upon it. In another place he compares it to the centre of the circle.<sup>1)</sup>

He continues that if we wish to maintain a distinction between Ḥaḳḳ and Khalk, we should not predicate of one what is predictable of the other except in the

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1) Affifi cp. cit. p. 16



sense of regarding them as one. Everything is a reality, but not the real. The one Essence transcends all. The many in fact have two aspects (1) as different from each other and from the One - logically, and (2) as essentially identical with each other and the One - actually. The former is called imkān, 'ubūdiyya, hudūth, - the latter wujūb, rubūbiyya and kidam.

Following his monist principles further ibn al-'Arabī says that the duality of Hakk and Khalk is one of differentiating attributes, and they are identified in his philosophy by the terms Tanzīh and Tashbīh. These terms were originally used to mean the comparability and incomparability of God with created things in connection with the doctrines of anthropomorphism and corporealism. An anthropomorphist (mushabbih) or corporealist (mujassim) was one who attributed to God qualities analogous to those of men, whereas a transcendentalist (munazzih) holds that God is above such qualities. Ibn al-'Arabī uses these terms more philosophically. By Tashbīh he means that God is immanent in all that sees, hears, or has hands; by Tanzīh he means that His Essence is not limited to one being or group of beings, but is manifested in all things. He is above limitation and



individualisation, being the Essence of all that is<sup>1)</sup>.

So Tanzīh corresponds to itlak (absoluteness) and Tashbīh to takyīd (determinateness). It follows that tashbīh and tanzīh are two aspects of one reality.

"If you assert (pure) transcendence, you limit God  
And if you assert pure immanence, you define Him,  
But if you assert both things you follow the right course  
And you are a leader and a master in gnosis.<sup>2)</sup>

He adds that man, in his ability to combine the aspects of immanence and transcendence is higher than the angels who can only know God transcendently. The importance of combining both these aspects is stated quite clearly in these tracts.

Ibn al-ʿArabī however distinguishes between the transcendence we predicate of God and the transcendence of God in Himself.; for the former is the logical correlative of immanence which is predicable of God as al-Hakk when He is contrasted with the world - and is subjective, whereas the latter belongs to the Divine essence in its own right, and is unknowable. In other words, there are two kinds of transcendence one which belongs to the divine essence in its own right, the absolute unity and simplicity

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1) Affifi op. cit. p. 18 et seq.

2) Op. cit. p. 21.



of the One (Abadiyya) and the other asserted by the intellect which must be coupled with immanence and may assume forms. This second kind is false if taken without immanence.

He then discusses the relationship between God and the world. This in a certain sense he regards as casual, for the divine knowledge of God or the nature of the Essence can be regarded as the cause of the world provided this does not imply temporal priority of God, or creation ex nihilo. It is in this sense he quotes the alleged tradition: "I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known, so I created creation that I might be known." Everything is an eternal existent in its state of latency (thubūt) but temporal in its state of manifestation. Creation (takwīn) only means the coming into concrete manifestation of something already existing. It comes of its own accord. God's activity is to will, and God wills nothing the existence of which is not necessitated by the thing itself.

In a certain sense too the divine names are causes of the universe and he regards them as lines of force. The greatest of them is Allāh (or the Merciful), and there are as many directions for this to manifest its activity as there are names, in other words, it comprises



all the other names. These names are causes in as much as they require logical correlatives which are manifested in the external world, for example the knower requires something known, the 'Hearer' something heard.

Apart from these general principles which are implicit in our tracts, their interest lies in the system of emanations that leads to the appearance of the visible world and the relation of it and them to the Absolute; for a general treatment of these points we will turn to the *Insān al-Kāmil*.

First then, a brief sketch of al-Jīlī's theory of the descent of the Absolute Pure Being, devoid of qualities of attribute or name is al-'Amā, the blindness. It is absolute inwardness, and all relations of the Essence to itself as other are absorbed and negated like starlight in sunlight. This blindness is logically correlated to Ahadiyya in which the Essence knows itself as transcendental unity, and both these aspects are reconciled in the Absolute whose outwardness is identical with its inwardness<sup>1)</sup>. Ahadiyya, which is only the abstract notion of oneness marks the first approach of the Essence to manifestation. In it all particulars are comprised and

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1) Nicholson op. cit. p. 94 et seq.



negated by the idea of unity. This unity resolves itself into a pair of opposites which become united in third term Wāhidiyya, which means unity in plurality. The two opposites begotten by Aḥadiyya are Huwiyya which signifies inward unity, and Anniyya<sup>1)</sup> which signifies that unity revealing itself in existence. Thus Wāhidiyya is the resolution of the discord of the many submerged in the One and the One manifested in the many for the many are identical in essence with each other and with the One. In Wāhidiyya essence is manifested as attribute and attribute as essence; one is the other, so for example mercy and vengeance are the same. Nicholson summarizes this process in a schema:

- A: Absolute Being or Pure Thought (al-dhāt al-wujūd al-mutlak)
  - (a) Inward aspect (al-'āma)
  - (b) Outward aspect (Aḥadiyya) i.e. abstract oneness, being conscious of itself as unity.
- B: Abstract oneness (Aḥadiyya)
  - (a) Inward aspect (Huwiyya) i.e. being conscious of itself as negating the many.
  - (b) Outward aspect: Anniyya i.e. being conscious of itself as the reality of the many.
- C: Unity in plurality: Wāhidiyya. i.e. Being identifying itself as one with itself and the many.<sup>2)</sup>

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1) Nicholson, mistakenly, derives this word from ana, and translates it I-ness. In fact it is derived from anna, meaning that, and corresponds to the Latin hicceitas, cp. al-Jurjānī: Kitāb al-ta'rifāt p.39 where it is defined: Anniyya: The realisation of an individual being in point of its essential grade.

2) Nicholson op.cit. p. 97



From this it is clear that there is a distinction between God (i.e. being which is predicated with the attribute of Divinity (Ilāhiyya) and being which would not be absolute unless it were stripped of all qualities. For the Essence of God is Pure Being, but Divinity, the domain of Allah regarded as He Who necessarily exists is the highest manifestation of the essence embracing all that is manifested. "It is a name for the sum of the individualisation of being, i.e. being in the relation of Creator (al-Hakk) to created things (al-Khalk) and for their maintenance in their respective order in that sum.<sup>1)</sup>

The process of God's Self-diremption<sup>2)</sup> is also explained in terms of His Essence, Attributes and Names, and the first corresponds to Abadiyya, the second to Huwiyya and the third to Anniyya. Essence he defined as that to which names and attributes belong in their proper nature, not as they appear in existence<sup>3)</sup>. It denotes **the** self (nafs) of God whereby He exists for He is self-subsistent. It is endowed with all the ~~names~~ and ideas that His perfection demands. In its absoluteness it annuls all the contradictions which as the universal

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1) Nicholson op.cit. p. 97.

2) cp. Muhammad Iqbal op.cit. p. 154

3) cp. Al-Insān al-Kāmil p. 13.



ground of individualisation it includes.

An attribute of a thing is that which conveys knowledge of its state to the understanding<sup>1)</sup>. The attributes of the Essence are the forms of thought by which it is manifested and made known. In the world of appearance we distinguish the forms from the reality underlying them, but the distinction is not ultimate: the attributes in their real nature are identical with the Essence which manifests itself as 'other' under the aspect of externality to our perceptions. ~~What~~ is called in theology the creation of the world is just this manifestation accompanied by division and plurality of the Essence as attributes, or of being as the object of thought. In reality the Essence is the attributes.

The attributes may be divided into four groups: those of the Essence - such as One and Eternal; those of beauty (Jamāl) e.g. forgiving, knowing and leading aright; those of majesty (Jalāl) e.g. Almighty, and Avenging, and those of Perfection (Kamāl) e.g. Exalted and Wise. Each attribute has an effect (athar) in which either of the latter three groups is manifested. So for example all objects of knowledge are the effect of the attribute (ʿālim). The effect of God's will is His particularisation

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1) cp. op. cit. p. 20.



of the objects of His knowledge by existence according to the requirements of His Knowledge, and that of His Power is defined as the bringing of the non-existent into existence<sup>1)</sup>.

Here it is necessary to indicate briefly two important differences between ibn al-'Arabī and al-Jīlī. Ibn al-'Arabī taught that God's knowledge is given Him by the objects He knows, and that His knowledge of them was derived from the necessity of their nature. This is a limitation of God's attribute of Will. Al-Jīlī taught, on the other hand, that God's will is absolutely free, and that the existence of things is caused by His knowledge of them. The second difference follows logically from this: that ibn al-'Arabī denies the world was created ex-nihilo whereas al-Jīlī asserts that it was.

A name is defined as that which individualises the named in the understanding and presents it to the judgement. It serves to make what is unknown known and thus its relation to the named is that of the outward to the inward and in this respect it is identical with the named<sup>2)</sup>. For this reason we can reach knowledge of God

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1) cp. Nicholson op. cit. p. 100 et seq.

2) Al-Insān al-Kāmil p. 16



through the name Allāh. The divine names are either of the Essence eg. al-Aḥad or of the attributes e.g. al-Raḥmān. And as with the attributes, each brings forth the effect inherent in that particular aspect of the Essence of which it is the embodiment. As these three descriptions correspond to the three stages of the descent of the Absolute, so in al-Jīlī's teaching they mark three stages in the ascent of the mystic to God.

What is the relation of man to all this? In al-Ḥallāj we saw how God radiated His love and brought into being an image of Himself which was Adam, created in His image and likeness. This notion was developed by Ibn al-'Arabī, but it was al-Jīlī who gave the doctrine its fullest expression. We have explained how creation is nothing other than God thinking Himself and becoming the object of His own thought. The whole significance of man in general, and in particular of the Perfect Man, is that he is the point of return by which the thought of God which has passed through various stages to material being returns to its own absoluteness. Without him God would radiate His love and beauty in vain. Al-Jīlī defines him as one who has fully realised his essential oneness with the divine being in whose likeness he is made. Not only are all the prophets from Adam to Muḥammad classed as perfect Men, but also the most saintly among the Ṣūfis.



This realisation of Oneness is nothing less than a divine illumination by which the veil of sense is lifted and immediate vision and knowledge of things unseen and unknown is granted and the conscious self passes away (fanā') in the overwhelming glory of the one true light.

In the second part of the Insān al-Kāmil al-Jīlī speaks of the Perfect Man as the spirit from which everything takes its origin. He is the efficient and final cause of the universe and sustains it in existence. In these higher hypostases of his nature the Perfect Man is known as the Rūh al-Kudus and Rūh; the latter is also described as the Reality that is Muḥammad (al-hakikatu'l-Muḥammadiyya) and the reality by means of which the world is created (al-hakḥ al-makhlūḥ bihi).

Al-Jīlī elaborates on the function of these two spirits: "You must know that every sensible object has a created spirit which constitutes its form, and the spirit has a divine spirit which constitutes it, and that divine spirit is the Rūh al-Kudus .... man for example has a body, which is his form, and a spirit, which is his meaning, and an essential aspect (wajh) which is denoted by the terms Rūh al-Kudus, al-sirru'l-ilāhī and al-wujūd al-sārī. It follows that these two spirits differ not in nature but in aspect. Viewed in relation to God they are one and eternal: in relation to man, as the innermost essence of things and



their form of existence, they are temporal. The Rūh al-Kudus exists individualised by its perfection in every object of sense or thought."<sup>1)</sup>

In other words al-Jīlī considers the archetypal spirit of Muḥammad a mode of the uncreated Rūh al-Kudus through which God becomes conscious of Himself in creation. The Rūh exercises a divine guardianship created in Him by God over the whole universe. He manifests himself in perfection in the Hakikatu'l-Muhammadiyah.

With regard to man this Rūh (or logos as in effect it is) has many names, such as the Most exalted pen, the First Intelligence<sup>act</sup> and the Divine Spirit, but with regard to God he has only one name, the Rūh. In one place this spirit is represented as addressing God saying: "God created Adam in his own image, and Adam was one of the theatres in which I displayed myself; he was appointed as a vice-regent over my externality. I knew that God made me the object and goal of all His creatures, and lo, I heard the most gracious allocution from the Most Great Presence: Thou art the Kutb (axis) whereon the spheres of beauty revolve, and thou art the sun by whose radiance the full-moon of perfection is replenished; thou art he

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1) Nicholson op. cit. p. 108 et seq.



for whom we set up the pattern and for whose sake we made fast the ring."<sup>1)</sup>

In the course of his realisation of his position as vice-regent of God the Perfect Man receives three illuminations. The instrument of this experience is the heart (kalb). It is the eye which sees the Names, Attributes and Absolute Being successively, a mysterious combination of soul and mind that becomes, by its very nature the organ for the recognition of the ultimate realities of existence. All that the 'heart' reveals is not seen by the individual as something separate from himself. What is shown to him through this agency is his own reality, his own deep being in which everything is united - "Who knows himself knows his Lord". This characteristic differentiates it from the intellect, the object of which is always distinct from the person exercising that faculty.

It is interesting here to consider the difference between an emanation system as used by the Muslim neo-Platonists such as al-Farābī, ibn Sīnā, and with certain reservations by al-Ghazālī, and as used by Ibn al-'Arabī for this will illuminate considerably the emanation system given in our tracts. Despite his terminology, ibn al-'Arabī does not accept an emanation system at all in the

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1) cp. Nicholson. p. 112-113. Also see <sup>infra</sup> ~~text~~ p. 160



sense of one step of self-revelation descending to another, and although he speaks of "the descending of the Divine Breath to the forms of phenomenal objects" this is metaphor rather than fact. In Neo-Platonism the emanational theory represents a progressive movement in a straight line, each member of the series giving rise to the others. In Ibn al-'Arabī there is never any real distinction between what he uses Plotinian terms to describe and the One Essence. What he calls Tajalliyāt (emanations) should be described as the different ways in which the One manifests Himself to us in the course of our knowledge of Him. Admittedly he uses such terms as the One and the Many and fayḍ (overflowing or emanation) but in a different way from that in which they are used by Plotinus. For him tajalli is the eternal and everlasting self-manifestation; it is the eternal overflowing of existence from the Essence to the forms, not in the sense of two vessels pouring, the one into the other, but in the sense of the One conceived now as an Essence, now as a form'. In other words what he calls emanations are the different aspects from which we consider the One. For example, when it is conceived of as apart from all possible relations and individualisations we say that God has revealed himself in the State of Unity (al-aḥadiyya) or is in that of blindness (al-'amā) the state of the Essence, and might be



taken as corresponding to the Plotinian One. When it is regarded in relation to the possible existence of the phenomenal world we say that God has revealed Himself in the state of the Godhead, which is also the state of the a'yān thabita (fixed essences) and of the Divine Names. This is also known as the State of Oneness, Wāḥidiyya, or the throne of the Merciful ('arsh al-Raḥmān). When it is regarded as a universal consciousness containing all intelligible forms of actual and potential existence we say that God has revealed Himself as inward or unseen (Ḥaḳīkatu'l-Ḥaḳā'ik), and this might be taken as corresponding to the Plotinian first intellect. When it is regarded as manifested in the phenomenal world we say that God has revealed Himself in the throne ('arsh) and when it is regarded as the universal substance which receives all forms we say that God has revealed Himself in Prime matter (al-hayūlā and Kitāb al-mastūr).

Thus ibn al-'Arabī rethinks all the Plotinian emanations adding yet others from different sources. Yet through all his wealth of material one theme remains clear: Reality is a unity - we multiply it through the way we understand it.<sup>1)</sup>

There remain the a'yān thabita or Fixed Essences.

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1) cp. Affifi op. cit. p. 60 et seq. This seems one of the most interesting and original passages of the work.



Ibn al-'Arabī was probably the first to use these terms and give them a prominent place in his metaphysical system. The theory is a mixture of the Platonic theory of ideas, the Ishrāqī doctrine of intelligible existence (al-wujūd al-dīhi) and the scholastic doctrine of the identification of substance and attributes.<sup>1)</sup>

Before coming into existence the things of the phenomenal world were in a state of potentiality in the Divine Essence of God, and were, as ideas of His future becoming, the content of His eternal knowledge which is identical with His knowledge of Himself. God revealed Himself to Himself in a state of self-consciousness in what Ibn al-'Arabī calls the ta'ayyun al-awwal in which He saw in Himself and for Himself an infinity of these a'yan as determinate forms of His own Essence, forms which reflected and in every detail corresponded to His own eternal ideas of them. Such are the a'yan thabita and they may be defined as the latent states both in the Mind and the Essence of God and of His future becoming, states that can only be expressed in terms of the divine names and all the possible relations that hold between them.

These a'yan have a two-fold nature, they are intelligible ideas or concepts in the mind of God on the one hand, and particular 'modes' of the Divine Essence on the

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1) op. cit. p.47



other. As such they are exemplars of the phenomenal world. This makes them, as it were, intermediaries between the One and the world, but how they are related to the creative power of God and how they become external existents it is impossible to know - although it is possible for the mystic to obtain knowledge of the a'yan themselves, particularly his own 'ayn.

As regards their relationship to the Essence it cannot be said that they are other than it any more than we can say that our mental states are other than our minds, but we can think of them as distinct. They are, in reality one with the Divine Essence, but they are not It. Ibn al-'Arabī calls them non-existent, not in the sense that they have no being whatsoever, but in the sense that they have no external existence or any existence apart from the Essence of which they are states. There is only one reality - that of the one and in addition a non-existent subjective multiplicity and non-existent subjective relations that limit and determine the One. They are the logical corollaries (mukṭadayāt) of the divine names, but they are also potential essences.

Such is the general background against which these tracts must be understood. Any other points which might appear necessary to the understanding of the tracts will be discussed subsequently in their relevant contexts.



## CHAPTER 2

## THE TEACHING OF THE TRACTS

Two elements are to be distinguished in these tracts; firstly the purely metaphysical principles involved in the fact of being, and secondly the position of man in his cosmic significance and his relationship to the Absolute Being considered as God.

The first principle to which all else is subordinate is that all being is one.<sup>1)</sup> There is no suggestion of the <sup>un</sup>reality of the visible world as taught in Indian philosophy. Everything that exists is real and is God: in reality all species are His species, and all forms are His forms. Created things are merely aspects (mazāhir) under which God reveals himself, and in regard to which otherness and distinction have a significance in as much

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1) Some of the tracts e.g. 15, 16, 17 can certainly be interpreted in an orthodox sense, but this implies no contradiction. The Wujūdiyya accepted dogmatic theology, and an orthodox catechism is attributed to Shemsa'l-Din (op. Van Niewerhuize op.cit. p.362 et seq.). Where they went astray was in the inner meaning (taḥkik) they attributed to Islamic teaching. It is interesting to note that the writers we are discussing, whether heterodox or orthodox all drew on the same sources e.g. ibn al-'Arabī, al-Jīlī, Jāmī, and Faḍl Allāh to mention only four names. But each adapted their teaching to suit his own requirements. The passage in the appendix taken from Al-Rānīrī gives a clear example of how statements on the face of them pantheistic, can be interpreted in an orthodox sense.



as they are a matter of name, by which one thing is distinguished from another, but not as referring to the Essence of Unity, for in reality the Essence is One, and there is no manifoldness in It.<sup>1)</sup>

From this it follows that being has two aspects, one as God (Hakk) and the other as creature (Khalk) for God at one and the same time is all and is above all. It is with this theme that the first tract begins: Everything has an aspect of immanence and transcendence: that of immanence is referred to as Tashbīh, and that of transcendence as Tanzīh. This corresponds to the theory of ibn al-'Arabī as stated in the previous chapter.

Not only is all being one, but God's attributes and acts are identical with Him and with each other. This is made clear in tract 13 which describes the descent of the Pure Light of God to Man. God is pure light and Absolute Being, and He sends His Pure Light into the heart of His servant. As sent into the heart of the servant is called the opening Light, and it takes with it Divine Help (taufīk) and guidance (hidāyat). The author points out that these are attributes that denote activity and have aspects of identity and <sup>non-identity</sup> ~~otherness~~, whereas the doctor of the Law (the orthodox theologians) assert only the aspect of non-identity.

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1) Ms p. 59



The same point is made in tract 17. This describes how God in the world is more manifest than the sun, and may be seen by the gnostic perfectly revealed in it without indwelling (ḥulūl) identification (ittiḥād) penetration (dukhūl), departing (khurūj), separation (infisāl) or coming together <sup>(ittiḥād)</sup>. The same thing is stated in tract 1<sup>1)</sup> and the reasoning is that the fact of the unity of being excludes the possibility of any of the relationships implied in these terms, although the following sentence, which occurs in that tract (i.e. 17): "God is God and the world is the world", ~~seems~~ seems to suggest that the author intended it to be interpreted in an orthodox sense.<sup>2)</sup>

God can be seen in the world through the effects of his attributes (āthār), and the gnostic who is able to see Him does so by denying the essence of created things (naḥy), affirming that of God (ithbāt) thus seeing Him revealed through His attribute of will. For he can see God's attribute of Life by regarding anything in the world as revealing that Life; he can see the attribute of knowledge by considering things manifested as a result of that knowledge; he can see the attribute of Will by

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1) Ms. p. 26

2) Al-Rānirī: Jawāhir al-'ulūm fī kash al-'ma'lūm S.O.A.S. Marsden collection Ms. 12151 p. 52.



considering why things are what they are and not anything else; he can see the attribute of Power by considering things as brought from their Fixed Essences (a'yān thabitah) to their Exterior Essences (a'yan khariyah), or in other words from hiddenness to manifestness. And he can see all the other attributes in the same way, for in reality they are one and the same.<sup>1)</sup>

The process through which the phenomenal world appears is a series of six emanations proceeding from Ahadiyya. These are Wahda and Wahidiyya, 'ālam al-arwāh, 'Ālam al-Mithāl, 'Ālam al-Ajsām and 'Ālam al-Insān. Wahda and Wahidiyya together with Ahadiyya - which denotes God's absolute unity - are semantic variations on the Arabic word for 'one', and ~~are impossible to translate~~; they correspond also to the Essence, Attributes and Names of God, and are also known as the grades of non-determination (lā ta'ayyun) the first determination (ta'ayyun awwal) and the second determination (ta'ayyun thānī). Wahda is also known as the grade of the Reality that is Muḥammad, and Wahidiyya that of the Reality of Man and the Fixed Essences.<sup>2)</sup> These Fixed Essences are the ideal prototypes of the latter four 'exterior' worlds which may be rendered: the World of Spirits, the World of Ideas, the World of Bodies and the World of Man.

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1) Tract 17.

2) Ms. p. 17-20.



Comparatively little is said of these in their own right; they correspond to God's acts. (af'āl). In tract 2 we are told they subsist in each other right up to the **F**ixed **E**ssences. The World of Spirits has the form of light; the World of Ideas has the form of light and a bodily form as well, although this bodily form is subtle and cannot be measured or destroyed. The World of Bodies on the other hand is 'dense' and can be measured and destroyed. Man holds in himself every 'stage' of the process and is the image of God.

The grade Aḥadiyya is that of the absoluteness of God. No words can describe it 'no name or description can be applied to it neither can a description or adjective be related to it; it cannot be known, contemplated, imagined or understood',<sup>1)</sup> - It is the grade of the Absolute Essence.

Waḥda is the first grade to which any description can be applied, and a considerable richness of exposition is devoted to it. It is that which is described with the beautiful names and lofty attributes. It is the first determination proceeding from the grade of non-determination. It is being conscious of itself both as negating the many and being the reality of the many. It has two aspects:

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1) Tract 1 Ms. p.37.



an esoteric which is the grade of Huwa, and an exoteric which is the grade of Allāh.<sup>1)</sup> Its outward expression from the standpoint of its esoteric character is the Reality <sup>that is</sup> of Muḥammad, and from the standpoint of its exoteric character the Soul of Aḥmad.

Wahda has moreover an intermediary function in which it appears as a Logos, and in virtue of this too has an outward expression. This expression is the Perfect Man. Others have described it as the centre of the circle described by Muḥammad between the necessary and possible. It is also represented by the lofty pen called in spiritual language the first Intellect. This first intellect is identified with Muḥammad who is here represented as the Logos from whom proceed all the indications of the pure Essence and the lofty names.<sup>2)</sup> It (Wahda) is also referred to as the treasure chest of God's being which contains under the aspect of unity all the particulars of existence which exist particularised at the grade Wāḥidiyya.

It is from Wāḥidiyya that multiplicity arises and to which everything can be referred for it manifests under an aspect of multiplicity those things which exist under

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1) op. Al-Ghazālī: Mishkāṭ al-Anwār. p. 22-23. Translation p. 62-63

2) Ms. p. 75-81.



an aspect of unity at the grade of Wāḥda. In making this point in tract 4 the author polemises against the notion of creation ex-nihilo, for were this true it would follow that God only became aware of things at the moment of their creation, and this would in effect be a limitation of His knowledge.

The terms Aḥadiyya, Wāḥda and Wāḥidiyya however are pure abstractions being various forms of the word for one. The relationship between them is also expressed in the terms 'ālim, 'ilm ma'lūm (the Knower, knowledge and the known), and in this there is a step away from pure abstraction, for the relationship between the triad is expressed in philosophical terms. Yet again this relationship is expressed by the terms 'ishk, 'āshik, and ma'shūk (love the lover and the loved) which are religious in character. In other words there is a descent from pure abstraction to knowledge and feeling. The matter is thoroughly discussed in tracts 5 and 6 where the descent is described as follows: Aḥadiyya descends to 'ālim, Wāḥda to 'ilm and Wāḥidiyya to ma'lūm, so that we have God, His thought and the objects of His knowledge. But when the relationship is expressed in human and religious terms the perspective changes because the process is regarded from a different standpoint. 'Ālim descends to 'ishk, ma'lūm to 'āshik and 'ilm to ma'shūk. God is absolute being and



and this being is identified with love. Man represented by the Fixed Essences which subsist at the grade of Wāhidiyya is the lover, and he loves 'ilm which, as representing the 'stadium' through which the differentiation giving him being takes place, is the loved (ma'shūk).

This is explained more fully in the next tract (6) where it is stated that 'ishk signifies the Absolute Essence of God, ma'shūk relative being - i.e. the names of God manifested at the grade of Wāhidiyya, and 'āshik the Fixed Essences which are also at the grade of Wāhidiyya. In pre-eternity these have no being, but long for it; and what they love (ma'shūk) is relative being. In post-eternity on the other hand the lover is the Perfect Man who before creation had his own Fixed Essence but who, as Perfect Man loves the Absolute Being of God revealed at the grades Wahda and Wāhidiyya, for 'ishk which signifies the Absolute Being of God (Aḥadiyya) can be neither an object of knowledge or love.

In tract 1 the terms naẓar nāẓir, and manzūm (sight the seer the seen) were introduced, and there they corresponded to 'ilm, 'ālim and ma'lūm. But in relation to 'ishk, 'āshik and ma'shūk, they represent the activity as seen by God, whereas what we have just described represents it as seen by man. Thus 'ishk, which under these terms of reference is the Absolute Being of God,



sees (nāzīr) and what He sees (manzūm) is the Perfect Man ('āshik) loving His act of seeing (nazar) which under these terms becomes the loved (ma'shūk). The inversion of terms is confusing but the intention is to show that despite the multiplicity of terms there is no multiplicity in Being. Multiplicity is only the number of aspects under which our mind sees things.

The triad is also expressed in the terms Aḥadiyya ṣirfa, Aḥadiyya jama', and Aḥadiyya kathra<sup>1)</sup> for since we are dealing with aspects and not actual stages it is just as true to speak of Aḥadiyya regarded as absolute (ṣirfa) or as containing under an aspect of unity (jama') or multiplicity (kathra) all existents, as to speak of Aḥadiyya Wahda and Wāḥidiyya.

Aḥadiyya is also divided into three: Aḥadiyyat al-wujūd, Aḥadiyyat al-'ayn and Aḥadiyyat al-ta'ayyun. Wahda and Wāḥidiyya are similarly divided, but since the terms do not occur again it is impossible to see what their significance in this context is.<sup>2)</sup>

Wahda and Wāḥidiyya are also interpreted in terms of the pre- and post-eternity of God and Muḥammad. From this standpoint Wahda as the grade at which all things exist

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1) Tract 5

2) Tract 5



united under the name Allāh represents the pre-eternity of God, and as the grade of the Reality that is Muḥammad represents that of him too. Wāḥidiyya as the revelation of God under the name the Merciful represents His post-eternity, but as the grade of the Reality of Man represents Man's pre-eternity. The post-eternity of the Prophet was to be seen in him while alive, and that of ourselves is to be seen in our bodies.<sup>1)</sup>

As for the nature of the process, it is described in tract 10 in this way: When God wished to reveal Himself to His creation He made a manifestation of Himself at the grade of His knowledge, revealing there His Absolute Essence and the content of His knowledge. This grade is also known as the sphere of the Conditions of the Essence (shu'ūn dhāt). These Conditions may be considered as the ideas in God's mind before they become actualised into individual existents as the objects of His knowledge. (i.e. Fixed Essences). All this is a further elaboration of the grade Wahda. Then He made another manifestation at the grade of His knowledge (Wahda) to reveal this manifestation of Himself, as unified, to that of Himself, as particularised, at the grade of the Fixed Essences (Wāḥidiyya).

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1) Tract 14.



The Perfect Man is revealed both through the conditions of the Essence and the Fixed Essences, whereas the 'animal man' is revealed only through the fixed essences.

The process is also described by the Arabic word fayḍ which means 'overflowing'. This fayḍ is divided into two kinds: fayḍ aḳḁas (the most holy emanation), and fayḍ muḁaddas (the holy emanation). The first represents the pouring out of Waḥḁa to Wāḥidiyya and the second the pouring out of being from Wāḥidiyya to the Exterior Essences.<sup>1)</sup>

In tract 7 the relation of these terms (Aḥadiyya Waḥḁa and Wāḥidiyya) to each other is represented by metaphors. That of Aḥadiyya to Waḥḁa is represented by a metaphor drawn from light and its brightness. Thus although the two may be separated conceptually they are in reality one being. The relation of Waḥḁa to Wāḥidiyya is compared to that of the light of the sun poured out upon the moon, and that of Wāḥidiyya to the remaining four worlds is expressed in the same terms.

Waḥḁa corresponds to the term 'ilm. And as 'ilm is the instrument by which the knower realises the known so Waḥḁa is the grade of the Logos or the Rūḥ al-Kuḁus. This point was also made in tract 1 where it was described

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1) Tract 16



as the first Intellect<sup>1)</sup>. This Spirit was created by a clash between the attributes of Majesty and Power from which it issued forth as a spark from stone and iron.<sup>2)</sup>

This Spirit is given different names according to the variety of its functions. It is called the Pure Spirit because God has raised it above all deficiencies; it is called the Spirit of God because it manifests His being and Life; it is called the Spirit of Relationship (Rūh idāfī) because it is related to God and all creation; it is called the Mirror of reality and Truth because the Reality of God and all things are displayed in it; it is called the throne of God as the place where God is revealed; it is called the Single Substance (jauhar fard) because it contains the attributes and names of God and is the body which supports them; and it is also known as the Centre of the Circles because the other circles of being and determination issue forth from it. Here then we find it fulfilling the activities of the Logos mentioned in the previous chapter.

Further it is Light which is unique in its nature and function. It exists without modality and tends only towards God. It is the source of the other Spirits and the

1) Ms. p. 78

2) Tract 7



Spirit of Man, for God has made them from it, but these spirits have modality and tend to the Rūh al-Kudus to bring them to God. In other words there is a threefold spiritual hierarchy: The Rūh al-Kudus, the Spirits, and the Spirit of Man, and in regard to Man the Rūh al-Kudus is the life of his spirit and the eye of his heart; it is also that which perfects his intellect being the intellect of all intellects. Yet all these spirits are only manifestations of God and their being is His Being.

Wahidiyya is the grade of Fixed Essences and the Reality of Man. As ma'lūm it is the object of God's knowledge and contains the essences of all existents, man included. Tract 11 gives a clear account of them. They are manifested through the Conditions of the Essence and are the reality of the Exterior Essences. They may be considered from two standpoints - as the forms of the Divine Names, and from this point of view they are eternal, and as the reality of the exterior world, and as such are temporal. They are as a body to the Divine Names but as a soul to the external world, and that is why the grade of Wahidiyya is called the Reality of Man, for it is at it that man exists 'ideally' as something thought by God, in other words as a Fixed Essence. Existing 'ideally' at this grade man has four elements: ('anāsir) Being, Knowledge, Light and Vision. But these are none other than



the Essence, Attributes, Names and Acts of Almighty God. It follows then that the being of man at this grade is the being of God for His Attributes Names and Acts constitute the perfection of His Essence.<sup>1)</sup>

The elements of man's physical body are Earth, Water Air and Fire. Earth is the being of God under the name the Wise, Water His being under the name the Giver of Life, Air His Being under the name the Strong and Fire His Being under His name the Mighty. The physical body of man then is identical with the Being of God revealed under these names. At the grade of Wahidiyya man is God and in the visible world he is He defined by His names.

Similarly the being of each stage in the emanational process depends on the Divine Names. The being of the Rūh al-Kudus is the Being of God under the name the Creator; that of the World of Spirits His Being under the name the Giver of Forms, that of the World of Bodies His being under the name the Manifest and that of Man His Being under the name the Gatherer. Each name is appropriate to the world in which the Being of God subsists under it, for in a sense each shows in a concrete way its function and thus an aspect of God's perfection. Man, as the name al-Jāmi' (the gatherer) implies is the fullest manifestation of Almighty God and includes all other aspects.

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1) Tract 8



The relationship of man to God cosmologically is summed up in the axiom: Who knows himself knows His Lord. Knowledge of the self had been taught by the early Sūfīs e.g. al-Muḥāsibī (781-875) in the sense of knowledge that the self is headstrong in doing evil and has to be kept in subjection by constant vigilance and self-examination.<sup>1)</sup> This knowledge of the self is moral. The knowledge of the self spoken of here is ontological, because the self is God, (and the person who knows this is called 'ārif, or a gnostic). In tract 6 we read: The Perfect Man loves the absolute Being of God because that being is his being. In tract 2 the self is defined: it is the Fixed Essences, and each of the emanations taken individually and together just as the Essence of God is not limited to the form of any of the 'emanations' but is present in all of them. For it is from Him alone that they come, through Him they subsist and to Him they return.

In tract 3 we are told that our self is God by virtue of existing in His knowledge. This means we have to realise that our visible self proceeds from and must return to a hidden self which can never part from the knowledge of God. The words implying motion however are purely metaphorical, for in reality there is neither coming nor

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1) Margaret Smith: An Early Mystic of Baghdad, p. 53



going; what is called coming is the overflow of pure being to this world of possible existents, since possible being is only an aspect (mazhar) under which God reveals Himself. When a man has realised this he will understand that the being of his visible self in reality is that of God, and that he is one in being attribute and act with Almighty God.

Three passages from the Kitāb al-Alīf <sup>attributed to</sup> ~~of~~ ibn al-'Arabī not only make this clearer but show one of the sources of the doctrine:-

"He is not in a thing nor is a thing in Him, whether entering in or proceeding forth. It is necessary that thou know Him after this fashion, not by knowledge ('ilm) not by intellect, not by understanding, nor by imagination nor by sense, nor by the outward eye nor by the inward eye nor by perception. There does not see Him save Himself.... by Himself He sees Himself and by Himself He knows Himself... His veil (is only a part of) His Oneness; nothing veils other than He. His veil is (only) the concealment of His existence in His Oneness, without any quality."

"And for this the Prophet (upon who be peace) said: Whoso knoweth himself knoweth his Lord.... the Prophet (upon whom be peace) points out that, thou art not thou; thou art he without thou, not He entering into thee, nor thou entering into Him, nor He proceeding ~~forth~~ from thee,



nor thou proceeding forth from Him .... Then if thou know thyself without existence or ceasing to be, then thou knowest God."

"And when this secret is revealed to thee thou understandest that thou art not what is beside God, and that thou art thine own end and thine own object in thy search after thy Lord.... Thou seest all thine actions to be His actions, and all His attributes to be thine attributes .... and thine essence to be His essence without thy becoming Him or His becoming thee.... It is as if one did not know a thing and afterwards knows it. His existence does not cease but his ignorance ceases, and his existence continues as it was without his existence being changed for another existence.... Thus it is permitted to him who is united to reality to say: I am the Truth... But none attains to union except he sees his own attributes to be the attributes of God (Whose name be exalted) and his own essence to be the Essence of God (Whose name be exalted) without his attributes of essence entering into God or proceeding forth from Him.<sup>1)</sup>"

From a different aspect man is spoken of as God's vice-regent (khālīfah). In tract 10 the twenty attributes of God are outlined viz. Being (wujūd) Uncreatedness (kidām)

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1) Cp. J.R.A.S. 1901 p. 809 *et seq.*



Perpetuity (bakā') Otherness from created things (mukhala-fatuhu li'l-hawādīth) Self-subsistence (Kiyāmuhi bi nafsīhi) Unity (wahdāniya) Life (hayāt) Knowledge ('ilm) Will (iradat) Power (Kudrat) Hearing (sam') Sight (baṣar) Speech (kalām); The Living One (Hāy) the Knower ('ālim) the Willer (murīd) the Powerful One (kādir) the Hearer (sāmi') the Seer (Baṣīr) and the Speaker (mutakillim).

The man who is not perfect has attributes which are the contrary of these but in the Perfect Man all of them are revealed for God has clad him with them - and it is in virtue of his wearing this raiment that God has appointed him His vice-regent. Nevertheless, as predicated of God these attributes are uncreated and imperishable but as predicated of man temporal and ephemeral, for it is unthinkable that man should be invested with them in their full perfection.

The position of man in regard to the world and as God's vice-regent is expressed in different terms in tract 9. This sets out to explain in what respects man is like to the world and in what respects greater than it, and does so in terms of al-Ghazālī's three spheres of Mulk Malakūt and Jabarūt<sup>1)</sup>. Mulk represents the visible world, Malakūt the Spiritual one and Jabarūt what links them

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1) op. Tract 9, translation note 1.



together i.e. the names of God. Mulk in regard to Man represents his physical qualities, Malakūt his spiritual ones and Jabarūt his senses which link them together. Both the world and man existed 'ideally' in the world of Malakūt before receiving physical existence in the world of Mulk. These are the respects in which man is like to the world. That in which he is greater than it is in his bearing God's 'Trust' (amānat) for God has manifested in him His Essence and all His attributes save those of Necessary Being and absolute plenitude.

Man's duty is to achieve perfection through knowledge (ma'rifat) i.e. by an experimental realisation that he is God, thus becoming a gnostic. It is here that we find specifically religious ideas replacing metaphysics. God is veiled from man by His attributes names and acts so that His lover should strive in seeking Him. It is His love which draws the seeker on, for in tract 1 we read: "Had it not been for His ancient love I would not have been sincere in my seeking of Him." Those who do not strive to bring themselves close to God are like cattle, and how few are those who do strive. Mālik ibn Dinār says: How many people go out from this world without tasting the sweetest of all things, and that is the knowledge of God. In his striving however the gnostic must keep the law as set down by the Prophet.<sup>1)</sup>

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1) Tract 1 Ms.p. 22-30



God opens the heart of His chosen servant to knowledge of Himself by sending His opening light into his heart which lifts the veils concealing His being. This light is given to the servant as a free gift, and by virtue of it the absolute Being of God is revealed to him.<sup>1)</sup> For knowledge of God is impossible without the help of His hidden grace. All that man can discover for himself is a certain theoretical knowledge which can be deduced about Him from the Shari'a.<sup>2)</sup>

The stages of the soul's ascent to God are explained in one way in tract 12 by a mystical interpretation of a verse of the Kurān: The Prophet was brought up to God until he was distant two bows' length or even closer.<sup>3)</sup> "Two bows' length" is interpreted as signifying one stage of closeness to God, and "or even closer" another yet higher. These two grades are represented by circles: ⊙ is the "two bows' length" which signifies a knowledge of God through His names and Acts, and ⊙ is "or even closer" which signifies a knowledge of Him through His attributes.

The journey of ascent to God is expressed in a different way in tract 15. Here it is described in four stages: viz. ghaib, mushāhadah, hādīr and wāṣil, at each of which an element of the self, which veils the soul from

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1) Tract 13

2) Tract 1 Ms. p. 86

3) Kur. 53:9



God is left behind. The first stage is complete absence from God(ghaib). When the soul has put aside its own being it is free to contemplate Him (mushāhadah). But not until it has passed beyond that contemplation is it present with Him (ḥādir), and when it is completely dead to itself, the gnostic has attained to Him (wāṣil).<sup>1)</sup>

The principal path to union with God however is that of the dhikr or recitation. Directions for the practice of it occur in tracts 8, 9 and 10 and 12, and the whole of tract 18 is devoted to it. Two paths of ascent are given. In the first there are three objects of recitation, viz. Lā ilāha illā'llāh: Allāh Allāh and Huwa Huwa each of which is the nourishment of a higher spiritual faculty. Allāh represents a higher stage than the full Shahāda because it is the greatest of the names of God and comprises all the rest, the term Huwa however is higher still. For the predication of man's conception of Godhead by the use of the term Allāh involves a relationship which is a limitation of the Absolute Being of God, whereas Huwa affirms that God is, without any attempt at definition, and thus is higher name. There are separate directions for the recital of each of these. The first is recited with the tongue but in such a way that Lā ilāha is made to come up

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1) Cp. Margaret Smith op. cit. p. 31



from below the navel and the breast to be beaten with a mental picture of illā'llāh in such a way that the effect of the dhikr becomes joined to all the reciter's limbs and fixed firmly within him. At the same time while pronouncing 'lā ilāha' he must deny the individuality of his own being, and at the words illā'llāh affirm that of God. Allāh Allāh is recited in the heart with the same affirmation but with the denial of the individuality of everything other than God, and Huwa Huwa is recited in the soul with the affirmation held constantly in the mind. In other words in the first case the individuality of the self is denied, in the second that of everything other than God and in the third the reciter passes beyond all denials and thinks only of the being of God.

In the second path there are four stages of ascent: Dhikr (recitation) Murākabah (observation) Tawajjuh (concentration) and Mushāhadah (contemplation). The profession of aith is the basis of each of these. The prescriptions for Dhikr are the same as above. Murākabah however is defined as a turning away from everything other than God and a seeing of His Being with the eye of the heart in all the grades of the world in which God is revealed in a form appropriate to each one of them, for the Being of God is the being of the external forms of all existents. From this point on the text is faulty, but a summary of what is



apparently intended occurs in my Nūr al-Dakā'ik.<sup>1)</sup> There, Murākabah is the denial of the individuality of the self at the words Lā'ilāha and the affirmation that it is the being of God at the words illā llāh. Tawajjuh is the bringing out the heart face to face with the being of God and a continual mindfulness of Him and Mushāhadah is the unification of the Exterior Essence of the self with its Fixed Essence so that it may see its own being in the Being of God and thus become extinct in Him (fanā') and abide through Him (bakā').

Such is a general account of the teaching of the tracts. They express a consistent<sup>t</sup> and intelligible view of being and of the relationship between man and God based for the most part on the principle of reality considered as Thought.

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1) J.R.A.S. 1953 p. 146



## CHAPTER 3

The general outline of the tracts is by now clear. It remains to see what place can be found for them in the context of the religious thought of the time, and to consider whether they mark any stage in doctrinal development. In this however, it is necessary to add a caution. There is not sufficient primary material available to be absolutely certain of the standpoint of the various authors concerned, even in regard to the works of Hamzah and Shamsu'l-Dīn, although it seems safe to say they were Pantheists of an extreme kind. Their works which we possess exist in a kind of vacuum, and we know only too little of the background against which they were intended to be understood. The specimen of Al-Rānīrī in the appendix shows only too clearly that the words of the mystics could be understood in the sense desired by the reader. Similarly, although I have decided on a basis to distinguish between their teaching (i.e. ~~the~~ Hamzah and Shamsu'l-Dīn) whether they would have accepted it as a matter of importance it is not yet possible to decide. If these considerations are kept in mind, then we may go on to consider in the first place, whether these tracts can be attributed to anyone of the four prominent teachers we have mentioned. The answer to this question must be no.



The chief grounds for this are to be found in the structure and style of the tracts themselves. Lacunae and occasional unintelligible passages are no evidence because they could be due to a poor copyist; but general structure, the method of dealing with the subject matter and to some extent the style can offer quite convincing arguments. Tract 1, for example, consists, for the most part of a series of quotations from an Arabic work followed by translations. One of these quotations, which also occurs in a text of al-Rānīrī is attributed there to Abu Tālib al-Makki.<sup>1)</sup> Although individual sections are well arranged the tract as a whole does not make a satisfactory unity, and one passage is repeated twice (Ms. p. 27 and 60). The remainder are competent and lucid summaries of teaching on various aspects of Sūfī doctrine, and in virtually all of them one is conscious of the inert objectivity of a précis.

The style, even for this kind of Malay, is mechanical, and repeated definitions of technical terms obscure the construction of the sentences. Moreover, one definition of a word is not enough: sometimes it is defined at length, even in successive sentences e.g. tract 13 Ms. p. 264....

Maka ini perkataan menyatakan tanazzul, erti-nya turun nyata nur yang mutlak, erti-nya cahaya Allah yang sa-jati-

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1) cp. tract 1 ~~Ms~~ text p.21 note 1.



nya kepada insan. Maka sa-yogia-nya akan 'arif rabbani mengetahui .... akan tanazzul, erti-nya turun nyata nur Allah yang mutlak itu, erti-nya chahaya Allah yang sa-jati nya itu. Likewise in tract 8 Ms. p. 191 we find a mechanical repetitiveness: Maka yang di-maksudkan dengan wujud, yang 'anasir hakikat insan yang bernama a'yan thabitah itu, dhat Allah ta'ala, dan yang di-maksudkan dengan 'ilmu yang 'anasir-nya pada mertabat itu, segala sifat Allah ta'ala, etc. Similarly in tract 4 Ms. p. 121 to 122: maka ini mengatakan kenyataan tajalli, erti-nya nyata Hakk ta'ala pada mertabat wahdat, erti-nya punya esa, dan pada mertabat wahadiat, erti-nya yang esa. Maka apakala wujud yang mutlak yang bernama Hakk ta'ala, ya'ni ada yang sa-jati-nya yang bernama Hakk ta'ala itu, menilēk kapada ada diri-nya dengan shu'un dhat-nya, erti-nya laku keadaan-nya, maka ia- itu bernama wahdat, erti-nya punya esa.

This is not to deny the competence of the writer, but only to point out that he has not the mastery of the subject, or the smoothness and confidence in exposition of, say, Hamzah or Al-Rānīrī. One can read these tracts and be wiser, whereas one can read Hamzah and Al-Rānīrī with pleasure as well. We may conclude then with a fair amount of confidence that they were written by a competent if rather pedestrian teacher for his students.



If then, it appears that these tracts cannot be attributed to any particular author, can they be attributed to any school of mysticism? The answer to this question is yes. A comparison with the teaching of Hamzah first of all however leads to a negative conclusion, for although the general outlook and approach are the same, the series of emanations upon which the system is built is different. The foundation of the cosmology of these tracts is the seven grades of being viz. Aḥadiyya, Waḥda, Wāḥidiyya; ālam al-arwāḥ, 'ālam al-mithāl, 'ālam al-ajsām, 'ālam al-insān. Of these Aḥadiyya is described as the grade of God considered as absolute Being, completely transcendent and unknowable. The remaining stages are all determinations of this grade. In Hamzah, however, the term Aḥadiyya is not used in this way, and in his Sharāb al-'āshiqīn which is an exposition of the salient points of his teaching the arrangement is different. What our tracts refer to as Aḥadiyya and lā ta'ayyun he refers to simply as lā ta'ayyun. The first determination which in our tracts is called Waḥda, is described by him as containing four hypostases viz. knowledge, Being, vision and Light from which derive the knower and the known, the seer and what is seen, what illumines and is illumined, and from which the succeeding determinations proceed to infinity. This first determination may be considered under two aspects:



firstly as signifying the unity of all things in the Essence, and then it is called Aḥad; and secondly as containing the particulars of creation from its beginning to its end and then it is called Wahid.<sup>1)</sup>

The teaching of Hamzah in fact seems to stand in a closer relationship to al-Jīlī than does that of our tracts. For in al-Jīlī the term Wahda<sup>2)</sup> does not occur, and in Hamzah only occurs incidentally in the sense of an intermediary stage. In this case Hamzah's lā ta'ayyūn would correspond to al-Jīlī's al'amā. The term Aḥad under which the many are negated in the one is a determination and thus a limitation of God. But the One considered as the reality of all things is called Wahid, and this would correspond to al-Jīlī's Wahidiyya. Nevertheless, a certain simplification has taken place, for the pair of opposites Huwiyya and Ann'iyya which (according to al-Jīlī) proceed from Aḥadiyya and resolve themselves in Wahidiyya have been dropped. In one respect moreover Hamzah appears to be closer to Ibn al-'Arabī than to al-Jīlī for he (Hamzah) denies creation ex-nihilo<sup>3)</sup>. "Whatever God brings into being .... is from the content of His knowledge. If this is so, it is brought into existence from being, not from

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1) op. Doorenbos. diss. p. 191 et seq. and appendix. See also Jāmī: Lawā'ih p. 14

2) op. Zoetmulder diss. p. 120 et seq.

3) op. chapter 1 p. 33



non-being.<sup>1)</sup> Further as in ibn al-'Arabī who 'goes through the whole of Plotinus' emanations, adding to them the four elements of Empedocles and many other spheres wherein God is manifested<sup>2)</sup> there is no limit to the number of emanations. In other words Hamzah seems to be following in a somewhat simplified form the teaching of ibn al-'Arabī and al-Jīlī.

However, if this brief comparison with Hamzah has proved futile in the attempt to assign these tracts to a school, it provides a clue to the understanding of some obscure points which in themselves are not clear. In the light of this we can find some meaning in the sentence describing - at the grade of Wahda - Huwa descending to manifest itself under the name Allāh, for if we consider Wahda as combining these two aspects of al-Jīlī, Huwiyya is its interior and Anniyya its exterior and corresponds to Allah to which Huwa descends. For as we have shown, the grade of Allāh is lower than that of Huwa because it implies individuality.

A comparison with the teaching of Shamsu'l-Dīn however leads to a more positive conclusion. Naturally there is a great deal more in Shamsu'l-Dīn than in these tracts, but there are no contradictions and a great measure of common ground. A large number of parallels

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1) Doorenbos. diss. p. 195

2) Affifi *op. cit.* p. 63



occur in Shamsu'l-Dīn's Arabic work *Jauhar al-Ḥaḳā'ik* edited by Van Nieuwenhuijze which gives a comprehensive and characteristic summary of the Shaikh's teaching. There are the basic corresponding concepts; the unity of being with its aspects of Tashbīh and Tanzīh, the metaphor of the hidden treasure chest and, more important, the clearly defined schema of the seven grades of being. In tract 5 too we find Aḥadiyya, Waḥda and Wāḥidiyya expressed as Aḥadiyya sirfa, Aḥadiyya jam' and Aḥadiyya kathra as in the *Jauhar al-Ḥaḳā'ik*. The creation of the Rūḥ al-Ḳudus is described in the same way on the basis of the same quotation from Najm al-Dīn, although in *Shamsu'l-Dīn* this is identified with the Rūḥ Muḥammad.<sup>1)</sup> This identification is not made in our Ms., but it is implicit in the context. Likewise there is the allegory of God addressing this spirit and instructing it in its functions. "Thou art a mirror etc." Then there is the description of Waḥda which is quoted in tract 5 (without acknowledgement).<sup>2)</sup> The tract dealing with fayḍ<sup>3)</sup> is a commentary on what is expressed in one line in the *Jauhar al-Ḥaḳā'ik*. In each work the same distinction is made between the 'ālam al-arwāḥ which is subtle and indivisible and the worlds below it which are dense and susceptible of division.<sup>4)</sup>

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1) See infra p. 153 Note three.

3) See infra p. 214 note one.

2) See infra p. 141 note one.

4) See infra p. 120-121 and Van Nieuwenhuijze *dir.* p. 256 l. 11-12 - p. 258 l. 1.



Tract 8 which explains the elements of man appears to be an elaboration of what is expressed in two lines in Shamsu'l-Dīn's work.<sup>1)</sup> The description of the dhikr with Lā ilāha illā'llāh is exactly the same as that given in the Jauhar al-Ḥakā'ik<sup>2)</sup> There are moreover identical quotations from Malik ibn Dinar and Sharīf'Aidarūs<sup>3)</sup>. Directions for the dhikr by Huwa Huwa<sup>4)</sup> are given in another work of Shamsu'l-Dīn, and the teaching on Ḳāba ḵausain<sup>5)</sup> occurs in an identical form with similar diagrams in two other Mss attributed to him. None of these points individually would give us absolute certainty. Certain tracts indeed could have their source in Hamzah. Tract 15 springs from a much earlier period of Ṣūfism, and without doubt a great deal of this mystical teaching was traditional and common to all the mystics. But the fact of this large number of parallels, the lengthy technical quotation from Jauhar al-Haka'ik, and the instances where the author seems to have Shamsu'l-Dīn's words particularly in mind make it quite probable that he was one of Shamsu'l-Dīn's students turned schoolmaster to another generation of North Sumatran Ṣūfīs.

This divergence between the teaching of Hamzah on the one hand - although Hamzah seems to have been familiar with

1) See infra p. 166 note one.

2) See infra p. 224 Note one.

3) See infra p. 224 Note three; four;  
p. 153 note three; p. 158 note one.

4) See infra p. 224, note three.

5) See infra p. 194, note two.



this system for he refers to it in passing - and that of our tracts and Shamsu'l-Dīn on the other, prompts one to interesting speculations. When exactly did this framework of the seven grades originate, and what is the reason for the substitution of Aḥadiyya as the source from which all proceeds for the al-'amā of the earlier mystics?

As far as I am aware, this framework appears first in Al-Tuhfa al-Mursala ilā'l-Nabi, a work by an Indian mystic Faḍl Allāh<sup>1)</sup> and on which one commentary was written expressly for the people of Aceh.<sup>2)</sup> Here we find the seven grades in a crystallised form, but the first three are introduced as lā ta'ayyun, ta'ayyun awwal and ta'ayyun thānī, only subsequently are they expressed by the terms Aḥadiyya, Wahda and Wāḥidiyya. The term ta'ayyun is not used in respect of the remaining four stages.<sup>3)</sup>

In the tracts we have been discussing and in Shamsu'l-Dīn the terms Aḥadiyya, Wahda and Wāḥidiyya seem to be generally accepted, although others are referred to. In a Javanese Text quoted by P. J. Zoetmulder, although the term lā ta'ayyun is used to describe the first stage of the process, which is only subsequently referred to as Aḥadiyya, the second two are simply called

1) d.1620 op. Brockelmann. G-S ii p. 617

2) cp. Van Ronkel: Suppl. Catalogue Batavia No. 178

3) op. Appendix.



Wahda and Wahidiyya,<sup>1)</sup> the terms ta'ayyun awwal and ta'ayyun thānī not being mentioned. The system seems to have been Indian in origin, and although it was not the only Indian system, was the one which became popular in the Indonesian countries.<sup>2)</sup>

This system shows two changes from that of the classical pantheists. The first of these is in the reduction of the number of emanations to seven. P. J. Zoetmulder suggests that this may have been due to cosmological influence, for the seven spheres, the seven oceans and the seven hills are common to Muhammadan and Indonesian stories alike.<sup>3)</sup> The second change is the substitution of Ahadiyya for al-'amā. This may be due to a re-affirmation of the cardinal Muslim doctrine of God, that He is One. It may on the other hand represent a return to the Neo-Platonic tradition of Muslim thought, where the One is the source of all, reaching down to 'matter' by a series of emanations.<sup>4)</sup> This is a point I must treat with a certain diffidence, for I ~~am~~<sup>no</sup> Plotinian scholar, but the point seems important. Al-Rānīrī is a representative of Orthodoxy at its most intolerant, but his doctrine is thoroughly Neo-Platonic. The point on which he differs from the Wujūdiyya is that the world is

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1) Zoetmulder op.cit. p. 109

2) Dārā Shikūh: Majma' al-Bahrain. p. 45.

3) Zoetmulder op.cit. p. 121

4) Ibn Sīnā: al-Najāt ed. Cairo 1938. p. 251-2



not God, but a manifestation of Him, and it is in this sense that he interprets Faḍl Allāh's "Everything is from God."<sup>1)</sup>

One of the <sup>points</sup> things I wanted to emphasise at the beginning of this thesis was the homogeneity of Islam at this time, and to illustrate how the Muḥammadanism of the Malays followed closely the movements of other parts of the Muslim world. A few short notes on the religious History of the Mogul Empire may make this clearer.

The Mogul Emperor Akbar (1573-1605) was not an Orthodox Muslim, and he embraced and propagated a syncretist Dīn-i-Ilāhī (The Divine Religion)<sup>2)</sup> which attempted to unite the best elements of Hinduism and Islam. This caused a certain tension between orthodox circles and the followers of the court. His successor Jahāngīr (1605-1627) had no rigorously orthodox conviction and took part in Hindu festivals.<sup>3)</sup> It was these years which saw the fullest development of the heterodox mysticism in Aceh. But Jahāngīr's successors Shāh Jahān (1627-1658) and Aurangzīb (1658-1681) brought in a new policy. For in 1633 was decreed the demolition of Hindu temples begun in the previous reign, and the prohibition of the construction

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1) op. appendix

2) Cambridge History of India Vol. IV p. 129 et seq.

3) op. cit. p. 182



of new ones. In 1634 inter-marriage with Hindus was forbidden.<sup>1)</sup> Mass conversions were encouraged and sometimes forced. In 1658 Dārā Shikūh who dedicated himself to finding a link between Islam and Hinduism on the mystical plane was executed.<sup>2)</sup>

The fortunes of the heterodox met the same sudden change in Aceh with the death of Iskandar Muda in 1636, and the sudden reversal of policy made the existence of a rival party quite likely. It was in 1637 that al-Rānīrī is recorded as arriving in Aceh, although he may have been there before.<sup>3)</sup> Many of the heretics were put to death, and their books were burnt.<sup>4)</sup> He wrote polemics against them, thus condemning the identification of man and the world with God, and comparing Hamzah's pantheism with nihilistic theories of the Vedāntas.<sup>5)</sup> Not only did he polemise against religious literature, but against secular works also. For instance he declared that the Malay version of the Ramayana should be used as toilet paper.<sup>6)</sup> This violent antipathy to everything Hindu is probably an indication of his work as a polemist against the syncretists in India, for as far as is known, there was never any Hindu influence in Aceh.

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1) op.cit. p. 217

2) op. cit. p. 227

4) Van Nieuwenhuize op.cit.p.200 5) R.O.Winstedt op.cit.p.99.  
p. 357

4) Van Nieuwenhuize op.cit.p.200 5) R.O.Winstedt op.cit.p.99

6) R. O. Winstedt op. cit. p. 98.



## Conclusion

The first aims of this thesis have been to produce an accurate transcription of these tracts, a readable translation and sufficient background information to make them intelligible. It has been shown that they are mainly of the heterodox pantheistic type, although they contain other elements as well. Their author was certainly no master, but he was competent, and probably belonged to the school of Shamsu'l-Dīn. Linguistic and material evidence make it quite possible that the original text dates from the first half of the 17th Century, and that the author was an Achinese. Although there are a few lacunae and corrupt passages, on the whole the text is very good, and written in a remarkably clear hand.

A secondary aim has been to place the tracts in the context of the religious history of the time, and to show that they form part of an integral whole. They are of the same type as mystical writings found in India and Java and contain two quotations from a near contemporary Indian writer. For this reason they may well serve as useful material for a closer study of religious contacts between India, Sumatra and Java, and perhaps throw light on the development of Muslim religious thought in medieval India, of which very little is known. They also illustrate the homogeneity of Islam, and the discussion of their relation-



ship to other mystical works shows how integral a part, even in orthodox mysticism, the Neo-Platonic tradition had become. These points I hope, will serve as a basis for further research.

It is true that these writings do not have the same interest as those of the great masters of Muslim mysticism and metaphysics. Nevertheless, if among the riches of Islam these tracts only represent 'the little light that is dappled with shadow', they are the work of a man seeking to know God in a manner that is not altogether alien to the spirit of Western thought.

o-o-o-o-o



## SYNOPSIS OF TRACTS

Tract 1 MS p. 1-94. The first part is missing but the conclusion drawn from this missing part is that everything has an aspect of Tanzīh and Tashbīh. It gives an outline of general principles and may be divided into four sections viz.

- (1) Tanzīh, Tashbīh and general terms of reference.
- (2) The seeking of God: enunciation of the monist principle; the mystical experience; examples showing the unity of God with the world; privileges of the elect.
- (3) The nature of God and His relation to the visible world; a re-affirmation of monism; definitions of Aḥadiyya, Waḥda and Wāḥidiyya.
- (4) Conditions for gnosis; responsibilities of the gnostic; conclusion.

Tract 2 MS p. 98-107. Explaining the tradition; Who knows himself knows his Lord.

Tract 3 MS p. 108-114, 96-95, 115-119 The same; apparently a continuation of the preceding.

Tract 4 MS p. 120-131. An explanation of God's manifestations of Himself at the grades of Waḥda and Wāḥidiyya.

Tract 5 MS p. 132-153. An explanation of the terms Aḥadiyya, Waḥda and Wāḥidiyya, and their relation to 'ilm alim ma'lum and 'ishk 'ashik ma'shuk.



Tract 6 MS p. 154-161. An explanation of the terms 'ishk, 'āshik and ma'shūk, apparently a continuation of the preceding.

Tract 7 MS p. 162-187. A digest of the teachings of theology on (1) The Rūh al-Ḳudus (2) the other Spirits (3) The unity and individuality of the grades of God's being (i.e. Ahadiyya, Wahda and Wahidiyya) with the worlds that are exterior to His knowledge (i.e. 'ālam al-arwāḥ, 'ālam al-mithāl, 'ālam al-ajsām, 'ālam al-insān.)

Tract 8 MS p. 188-207. An explanation of the belief of the theologians in regard to (1) the elements of the 'reality' of man at the grade of Wahidiyya (2) the origin of his spirit at the grade of the world of spirits (3) the elements of his physical body (4) and the practice of dhikr, murākahah tawajjuh and mushāhadah.

Tract 9 MS p. 208-221. (1) an account of the way in which man is like to the world and the respect in which he is greater than it, based on al-Ghazālī's teaching on the three worlds of Mulk, Malakūt and Jabarūt. (2) an account of ibn al-'Arabī's teaching on the grades of Godhead and Lordship.

Tract 10 MS p. 222-235. An account of the twenty attributes necessary to God and the bestowal of them upon the Perfect Man.

Tract 11 MS p. 237-245. The relation of the Fixed Essences to the Exterior Essences.



Tract 12 MS p. 245-260. (1) An explanation of the circles which indicate the unity of God's being (2) a mystical interpretation of 'ḵāba ḵausain au adnā' (3) the relation of this to fanā' fī'llāh and baḵā'bi'llāh, and the practice of Dhikr, Murāḵahah, Tawajjuh and Mushāhandah.

Tract 13 MS p. 261-280. (1) An explanation of the pre-eternity and post-eternity of God and pre-eternity and post-eternity of creation.

Tract 15 MS p. 289-292 An account of what constitutes the soul's absence from God, contemplation of His presence with Him and attainment to Him.

Tract 16 MS p. 293-296. An explanation of fayd.



Tract 17 MS p. 297-310. An explanation of how God in the world is more manifest than the sun.

Tract 18 MS p. 311-325. Prescriptions for the practice of Dhikr, Murāḵabah, Tawajjuh and Mushāhadah.



Note on transliteration

The Arabic text has been transliterated according to the system usually used by the Royal Asiatic Society.

The accepted Straits romanization of the Malay has been followed with the exception that the pepet sign  has been dropped, and the long e's indicated thus . Arabic words occurring in the Malay text have been romanized according to the Malay system except where the addition of the diacritical marks has been felt necessary to indicate the original root of the word.

With regard to foot-notes: Notes throwing light on the meaning of the text have been added to the translation. General critical notes find their place with the text. The placing of text and translation side by side makes it simple to supplement one with the other.

Numerals in the left-hand margin signify paging of Ms.

[        ] : lacuna in text filled by conjecture.  
 (        ) : corrupt words.



## Tract 1.

- 1 .....tajalli kudrat dan iradat dan barang yang sa<sup>bagai</sup> kedua-nya. Wa 'l-ḥāsilu anna li kulli man nazara ilā shai'in yakūnu nazaruhu tāratan ilā zāhiri dhālika 'l-shai'i wa tāratan ilā bāṭini dhālika 'l-shai'i - Maka yang hasil daripada sakalian kata ini bahawa sa-nya bagi tiap<sub>2</sub> sa-orang yang melihat kapada sa-suatu, terkadang ada penglihatan-nya
- 2 akan sa-suatu itu kapada dzahir-nya, dan terkadang kapada batin-nya, ya<sup>(ni</sup> kapada hakikat sa-suatu itu. Fa nazaruhu ilā zā hiri dhālika 'l-shai'i summiya tashbīhan wa ilā 'l-bāṭin summiya tanzīhan - Maka pandang-nya kapada dzahir sa-suatu, itu, di<sup>(</sup>namai akan pandang-nya itu tashbih, dan pandang-nya yang kapada batin sa-suatu itu, di-namai akan dia tanzih;
- 3 li'anna li kulli shai'in tanzīhan wa tashbīhan fa 'l-zāhiru tashbīhun wa 'l-bāṭinu tanzīhun - dari ka<sup>na</sup>na bahawa sa-nya bagi tiap<sub>2</sub> sa-suatu itu ada bagi-nya tanzih dan tashbih maka yang dzahir itu tashbih, dan yang batin itu tanzih. Wa bi ḥādḥā kamila 'l-kāmilu fī ma'rifatihi, li'anna man jama'a baina 'l-tanzīhi wa 'l-tashbīhi fī ma'rifatihi, fa huwa 'l-kāmilu <sup>1)</sup> 'l-mukammil - Dan dari karena ini-lah berolēh kesempurnaan yang berolēh sempurna pada ma'rifat-nya, dari karena bahawa sa-nya barang siapa menghimpunkan antara tanzih dan tashbih pada ma'rifat-nya, maka orang itu-lah di-namai kamil mukammal.
- 4

1) sic. Possibly an Achenese corruption. Cp. Atjéhseh - Nederlandsch Woordenboek by Djajadiningrat under kamé and moekama.



I'lam anna dhāta 'l-sirfi lā yumkinu takyidun<sup>1)</sup>

- biḳaidin min al-ḳuyūd. - Ketahui olēh-mu bahawa sa-nya  
5 dhat Hakk s.w.t. yang sirfah itu, ya'ni yang sa-mata mata  
tiada dapat di-takyidkan dengan sa-suatu takyid daripada  
segala kuyud. Idhā su'ilta hal yakhruju minhu jamī'u  
l-ḳuyūdi 'l-zāhir<sup>2)</sup> al ān am lā. - Apabila di-tanya orang  
engkau, ada-kah keluar daripada-nya segala kuyud yang ada  
6 dzahir berbagai, bagai sekarang atau tiada? Kulta, lā  
yakhruju minhu abadan, lākin jamī'u<sup>1)</sup> l-ibārati maknūnunatun  
fī kanzi wujūdihi, fa lammā arāda 'l-Hakku s.w.t. an yuḫhira  
huwīyyata 'l-aḥadiyyati<sup>2)</sup> 'l-maknūnati 'l-maknūzati, fa  
kushifa <sup>h</sup>mazharu jamī'ī 'l-asmā'ī & 'l-ilāhiyyati kamā fī  
ḳaulihi: kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa aḥbābtu an u'rifa<sup>3)</sup> fa  
7 khalaktu l-khalḳa li u'rifa.<sup>3)</sup> - Kata olēhmu pada jawab-  
nya sa-kali-kali tiada keluar daripada-nya sa-suatu jua pun,  
tetapi sakalian 'ibarat terbuni ia dalam perbendaharaan wujud-  
nya, maka tatkala berkehendak Hakk s.w.t. mendzahirkan  
huwīat keadaan ~~ke~~sesaan-nya yang terbuni ia dalam batin  
perbendaharaan-nya, maka di-bukakan-nya-lah tirai kenyataan  
8 sakalian nama hadrat-nya yang maha <sup>u</sup>mylia itu, saperti firman-  
nya yang maha tinggi: Aku-lah perbendaharaan yang terbuni,  
maka ku-gemari mengetahui daku, maka ku-jadikan makhlok  
supaya di-ketahu-nya ~~dan~~ daku. Bermula perbendabaraan

1) Better: takyīduhu.

2) Ms. aḥdiyyat.

3) Ms. u rafa.



yang terbuni itu, di-isharatkan segala 'arif yang kamil mukammal dengan dia kapada kunhi ghaib dan itlak yang akdas  
 9 dan batin huwiat yang azali. Maka ada-lah perbendaharaan itu 'ibarat daripada ghaib yang mughayyab yang terbuni. Maka ada-lah 'ibarat daripada ghaib al-mughayyab itu ia-itu ta'ayyun awwal, nafi segala yang lain daripada Hakk s.w.t. dengan kulli-nya ~~kar~~na bahawa mertabat ini, ia-itu 'ain wahdat pada hakikat-nya.

Maka tatkala Hakk s.a.w. menilēk kapada nama-nya dengan  
 10 ilmu-nya<sup>1)</sup> maka jadi-lah perkerjaan tiga perkara, pada peraturan-nya: pertama dhat, kedua sifat, ketiga asma', maka ia itu-lah yang di-anma' olēh sa-tengah 'arif pada kitab-nya dengan ahadiat, wahdat, wahidiat, dan sa-tengah 'arif menama' dia dengan 'ilmu, 'alim ma 'ulum, dan sa-tengah 'arif menama'  
 11 dia dengan 'ishk 'ashik ma 'shuk. Maka jangan kau-lalai dengan segala nama ini, karēna sakalian ini pada hakikat-nya suatu jua, tiada lain, hanya lain-nya pada peraturan 'ibarat-nya jua, karena ahadiat itu 'ibarat daripada dhat, dan wahdat itu 'ibarat daripada sifat, dan wahidiat itu 'ibarat daripada asma'. Maka dhat dan sifat dan asma', sakalian-nya  
 12 itu pada hakikat-nya esa jua, tiada lain. Demikian lagi segala peraturan segala mertabat yang telah kau-lihat pada sa-tengah kitab segala 'arif bi'llan berbagai-bagai itu hanya akan mengingatkan peraturan segala mertabat itu jua, ya'ni pada 'ibarat tanzih dan tashbih itu jua, ya'ni apabila

1) Possibly a quotation from Hamzah. Cp. Doorenbos, diss.



- kau-lihat pada tashbih-nya, maka ada-lah kau-perolēh
- 13 peraturan|mertabat saperti yang telah tersebut itu, dan a apabila kau-lihat pada tanzih-nya, maka tiada kau-perolēh pada sakalian-nya itu lain daripada Hakk s.w.t. yang: Laisa ka-mithlihi shai'un<sup>1)</sup> itu-lah jua. Maka sa-yogia-nya-lah segala yang menilēk pada segala perkataan kitab segala muhakkikin, hendak-lah di-perbaiki-nya i<sup>c</sup>tikad-nya akan dia
- 14 <sup>e</sup>kar<sup>e</sup>na segala perkataan|muhakkikin saperti yang telah tersebut dalam kitab ini, tiada ada ia melainkan telah muafakat dengan kitab Allah dan hadith rasul Allah. Ada pun jika ada dalam-nya ashkal pada pendapat-mu sa-olah-olah bersalahan ia dengan kitab Allah dan hadith rasul <sup>Allah</sup>~~Assah~~, maka hanya yang demikian itu daripada kurang paham-mu jua. Maka
- 15 sa-yogia-nya-lah|bagi-mu memohonkan taufik kapada Hakk s.w.t. serta beri<sup>c</sup>tikad dengan i<sup>c</sup>tikad yang tulus akan segala <sup>c</sup>ulama muhakkikin. Maka jangan kau-munkir akan merēka itu, supaya di-tunjoki Allah akan dikau kapada jalan yang betul, karena barang siapa munkir akan segala <sup>c</sup>ulama muhakkikin, tiada
- 16 adakan di-perolēh-nya|jalan yang betul, melainkan makin sesat jua, karena kata segala <sup>c</sup>ulama muhakkikin itu amat jauh pendapat-nya pada segala orang yang <sup>c</sup>am yang belum pai berolēh taufik karunia <sup>c</sup>ilmu mar <sup>c</sup>ifat Allah yang sempurna itu. Maka sa-yogia-nya-lah bagi-mu menyerahkan perkerjaan yang demikian itu, serta berbetul i<sup>c</sup>tikad akan sakalian merēka itu

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1) Qur. 42:11.



17 dengan tiada | munkir akan sa-sa-orang jua pun daripada merēka  
itu.

Katahui olēh-mu bahawa sa-nya Hakk s.w.t. tatkala menilēk  
Ia kapada nama-nya dengan ʿilmu-nya, maka jadi-lah perkerjaan  
tiga nama, pertama ʿalim, kedua ʿilmu, ketiga maʿlum. Maka  
yang nāzīr itu ʿalim nama-nya, dan yang manzūr itu, maʿlum  
18 nama-nya dan nazar<sup>1)</sup> | itu, ʿilmu nama-nya. Maka tiga nama ini,  
daripada pēhak hakikat-nya, sakalian-nya suatu jua, karena  
yang bernama ʿilmu, ʿalim, maʿlum itu, ia jua saperti yang  
di-kata olēh sa-tengah daripada segala muhakkikin pada ʿibarat-  
nya dengan kata-nya ahadiat, wahdat<sup>at</sup> wahidiya<sup>at</sup>, maka ketiga ini  
19 daripada pēhak nama-nya berlain-lainan, ada pun pada | hakikat-  
nya suatu jua, karena ahadiat itu ʿibarat daripada dhat dan  
wahdat itu ʿibarat daripada sifat dan wahid<sup>at</sup> itu ʿibarat  
daripada asma' maka dhat dan sifat dan asma' itu suatu jua.  
Demikian lagi yang kita perolēh daripada sa-tengah ʿibarat  
kitab segala ʿulama muhakkikin yang mengibarat dengan ʿibarat  
20 | ʿishk, ʿashik maʿshuk, ketiga-nya itu pada hakikat-nya suatu  
jua, saperti ʿibarat yang telah terdahulu itu jua, hanya  
bersalahan-nya pada nama aturan sa-tengah masha' ikh itu jua.  
Maka di-namai Hakk taʿala dengan nama ʿalim dengan nisbat  
ʿilmu dan maʿlum-nya akan segala ashya karena bahawa ʿilmu  
21 itu sifat maka di-adakan-nya | akan segala ashya itu daripada  
ʿadam mahd kapada wujud mahd.

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1) nāzīr, manzūr and nazar are given an interlinear transla-  
tion of yang menilēk, yang di-tilēkkan and tilēk  
respectively.



- I<sup>l</sup>am anna hajba<sup>1)</sup> l-dhāti bi ' l-sifāti wa hajba  
'l-sifāti bi ' l-asmā' i wa hajba ' l-asmā ' i bi ' l-af'ālī wa  
hajba ' l-af'ālī bi ' l-āthāri. - Ketahui olēh-mu bahawa sa-  
nya terdinding dhat itu dengan segala sifat dan terdinding  
22 segala sifat itu dengan segala asma' dan terdinding segala  
asma' itu dengan segala af'al, dan terdinding segala af'al  
itu dengan segala athar. Ammā fā' idat hajbi<sup>1)</sup> nafshihi,  
subhānahu wa ta'ālā bi-tilka ' l-hujubi<sup>2)</sup> li-yajtahida  
' l-'āshikū fī ṭalabihi wa la ' alla annahu kādir wa ' alā takhriki  
tilka ' l-hujubi<sup>2)</sup> wa li yanzura ilā makāmi haḍratihī subhānahu  
23 wata'ālā bi lā kaifa walākin jamī' u dhālika ' l-ijtihādi  
innamā huwa<sup>3)</sup> min faḍlihi ilā dhālika ' l-'āshik. - Adapun  
faedah di-dinding Hakk, s.w.t. diri-nya dengan dinding itu,  
supaya bersungguh-sungguh 'āshik pada menuntut dia, - dan  
mudah-mudahan bahawa sa-nya kuasa ia atas memesokkan dinding  
itu dan supaya di-pandang-nya kepada makam hadrat Hakk  
24 s.w.t. dengan tiada betapa, tetapi sakalian ijtiḥād itu pun  
hanya sa-nya ia daripada anugeraha-nya jua akan yang 'āshik  
itu, seperti yang di-kata olēh sa-tengah segala 'ulama mukak-  
kin yang 'arif yang kamil mukammal pada sha'ir-nya kata-nya:  
"Lau lā kaḍīmu ' l-hubbi mā akhlastu kalbī fī ṭalabihi, lākin  
25 huwa ' l-ṭālibu wa ' l-maṭlūbu kamā kīla: minhu badā wa ilaihi

1) Ms. in each case hajba. The construction seems to demand the verbal noun, however, and this is hajb. Al-Rānirī in the Jawāhir al-'ulūm fī kash al-ma' lūm (Marsden collection s.o.a.s. Ms.12151 p.60) attributes this saying to Abu Ṭalib al-Makki d.996 A.D. Op Brockelman GI p.200.

2) Ms. hijāb (singular). But the sense requires a plural as does the feminine singular form of the relative. (hijāb is masculine.)

3) Ms. Tilka (fem. form) ' l-ijtihādi innamā hiya (fem. form) But ijtiḥād is masculine, hence the emendation.



ya<sup>ʿ</sup>ūd. - Jikalau tiada dahulu kasēh-nya akan daku, neschaya  
 tiada-lah ku-selesaikan hati-ku pada menuntut Dia, tetapi Ia  
 jua yang menuntut dan yang di-tuntut saperti yang di-kata  
 ʿarif: Daripada-nya jua datang-nya dan kapada-nya jua kembali-  
 nya pun. Jika demikian sa-yogia-lah bagi segala yang telah  
 26 berolēh ʿilmu maʿrifat Allah itu memandang diri-nya yang  
 dzahir ini daripada asal-nya yang batin itu jua, ia-itu Hakk  
 s.w.t. dengan tiada ḥulūl dan tadākhul karena yang ḥulūl dan  
tadākhul itu, tiada ada ia melainkan daripada dua wujud.

Maka bahawa-sa-nya telah yakin-lah segala ʿarif yang kamil  
 27 yang berolēh ʿilmu maʿrifat Allah bahawa sa-nya wujud itu  
 suatu jua, hanya segala perkara jua yang berbagai-bagai ini  
 akan penyatakan wujud yang esa itu jua, itu pun pada dzahir-  
 nya jua. Ada pun pada hakikat-nya tiada berbagai-bagai  
 karena segala bagai itu, bagai-nya jua dengan tiada betapa;  
 28 dan segala rupa, rupa-nya jua dengan tiada betapa dan segala  
 bunyi, bunyi-nya jua dengan tiada betapa dan segala laku,  
 laku-nya jua dengan tiada betapa. Jika demikian benar-lah  
 kata segala ulama muhakkikin yang berkata dengan kata-nya:  
 Inna ʾl-wujūda wāḥid, erti-nya: Yang wujud itu suatu jua.

Maka sa-yogia-nya-lah bagi segala ʿarif mendampingkan  
 29 diri-nya kapada hadrat Hakk s.w.t. Iʿlam anna ʾl-ḥurba illā  
ʾllāhi s.w.t. lā yaḥṣulu li aḥadin illā bi-maʿrifati ʾl-kāmilī,  
fa-idhan ḥaṣala, lahu ladhḥātu ʾl-mudhāḳi fi-hādhīhi ʾl-dāri

— Ketahuī olēh-mu bahawa sa-nya damping kapada hadrat Hakk  
 s.w.t. itu, tiada berolēh ia bagi sa-sa-orang jua pun



- 30 melainkan dengan ma'rifat yang kamil, maka tatkala itu hasil-lah ia bagi-nya dengan chita-rasa ma'rifat dalam negeri dunia ini. Wa li hādhā k̄ālā<sup>1)</sup> ba'ḍu 'l-ārifīna man dhāka ya'rif wa-man lam yadhuk lam ya'rif, ulā'ika lam yanālū khairan ulā'ika ka'l-an'ām, bal hum aḍallu<sup>2)</sup> bal hum aktharu 'l-nāsi. - Dan dari karena ini-lah di-kata olēh sa-tengah
- 31 daripada segala 'arif yang kamil, barang siapa berolēh chita rasa ma'rifat, neschaya berma'rifat ia, dan barang siapa tiada berolēh chita rasa ma'rifat, neschaya tiada ia berma'rifat, merēka itu-lah yang tiada berolēh kebajikan lagi merēka itu-lah saperti binatang empat kaki, tetapi merēka itu, terlebih sesat daripada-nya, tetapi merēka itu kebanyakan
- 32 daripada manusia. Kamā kala Mālikun ibnu Dinārin<sup>3)</sup> raḍiya 'llāhu 'anhu: Kam min al-nāsi kharajū min al-dunyā wa lam yadhūkū aṭyaba 'l-ashya'i, wa huwa ma'rifatu 'llāhi s.w.t.<sup>4)</sup> lākin li shiddati zuhūrihi khafiya 'inda 'l-awāmmi wa hādhā aīdan min ghairatihi subḥānahu wa-ta'ālā fī-nafsihi, wa illā fa'l-kullu minhu - Saperti kata Malik ibn Dinar raḍia 'llah 'anhu:
- 33 Beberapa daripada segala manusia, keluar merēka itu dari negeri dunia ini, pada hal tiada di-rasa merēka itu chita rasa yang terbaik daripada segala perkara, ia-itu ma'rifat

1) Ms. k̄ila.

2) Kur. 7:179.

3) d.754 A.D.cp.Catalogue of Persian Mss in India Office Library, Vo. I,p.292.

4) Cp. Van Nieuwenhuize diss. p.265 l. 11 - 13 for same quotation.



- Allah s.w.b., tetapi karena sangat nyata-nya jadi terbuni Ia pada segala orang kebanyakan dan terbuni-nya ini pun daripada
- 34 chemburu Hakk s.w.t. pada diri-nya jua, dan jika tiada demikian maka sakalian-nya daripada-nya jua. Kamā kāla s.a.w. hīna su'ila idhā kāna 'l-kadaru khairuhu wa sharruhu kad istaufā fa'ayyu' l-'amali, yā rasūla 'llāhi; fa kāla s.a.w. if'alū mā shi'tun kullun muyassarun<sup>1)</sup> limā khulika lahu - Saperti sabda nabi s.a.w. tatkala di-tanyai
- 35 sahabat akan dia: Apabila ada-lah untong baik-nya dan jahat-nya sa-nya telah selesai-lah ia maka apa jua faedah 'amal, ya rasul Allah? Maka sabda nabi s.a.w.: Kamu kerjakan-lah barang kehendak kamu, maka tiap<sub>2</sub> yang di-mudahkan itu bagi yang di-jadikan bagi-nya. Wa'in kāna hādihā 'alā 'l-hakikati fa'alaika bi-hifzi' l-sharī'ati
- 36 wa-mutab'atihi s.a.w. wa' l-khulafā' i' l-rāshidīna, fa lā yaghrurka 'alā hifzi' l-sharī'ati kaulu shat'hiyāti wa'in kāna 'alā 'l-hakki fī 'l-hakikati—Dan jika ada sabda nabi ini atas hakikat-nya sakali pun, maka sa-yogia-nya atas-mu dengan memelihara shari'at dan mengikut nabi s.a.w. dan
- 37 khulafa' al-rashidin. Maka jangan memghururkan (sic) dikau atas memelihara shari'at itu kata segala orang yang mabok, dan jika ada ia atas jalan yang sa-benar-nya pada hakikat sakali-pun. Wa-kaulu' l-Hallāja<sup>2)</sup> radiya 'llāhu 'anhu: Ana 'l-Hakku, kāna fī hāli sukrihi, wa-ghalabati hālin bi-ghairi

1) Ms. kullu muyassarin. The correct reading taken from Wensinck. Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane Vol. ii, p.72.

2) d.921 A.D. op. Brockelman G.I. p.199.



- 38 kasdin minhu, wakāna 'l-Hakku s.w.t. yantiku 'alā lisānihi  
min ghairi kasdihi, fa kāna idāfatuhu ilā 'llāhi lā ilaihi  
'alā 'l-hakīkati fa-sahha an lā maujūda siwa 'llāhi subhānahu  
wa-ta'ālā nafsīhi - Dan kata Mansur Hallaj radia 'llah  
 'anhu "Anā 'l-Hakk", erti-nya: Aku yang sa-benar-nya itu.  
 Maka ada lah ia pada hal mabok-nya dan ghalib hal-nya tiada  
 39 dengan di-sahaja-nya. Maka ada-lah Hakk s.w.t. jua yang  
 berfirman ia atas lidah-nya daripada tiada di-sahaja-nya.  
 Maka ada-lah idafat kata-nya itu kapada Allah s.w.t. jua,  
 tiada kapada-nya atas hakikat-nya. Maka sah-lah tiada ada  
 maujud lain daripada Allah s.w.t. sendiri-nya. Kamā kāla  
 40 s.a.w.: Inna 'l-Hakka lā yantiku 'alā lisāni 'Umara<sup>1)</sup> - Saperti  
 sabda nabi s.a.w. bahawa sa-nya Hakk s.w.t. berfirman Ia atas  
 lidah 'Umar. Wa hādha 'l-hadīthu shāmilun li-kalāmi  
'l-mutasharri'ina wa 'l-muhakḳikīna, wa 'l-mutasharri'ūna,  
rahimahumu 'llāhu ta'ālā, yaqūlūna inna kalāma 'Umara, radiya  
'llāhu 'anhu, mazharun li kalāmi 'llāhi wa 'l-muhakḳikūna  
 41 yaqūlūna inna kalāma 'Umara radiya 'llāhu 'anhu huwa kalāmu  
'llāhi ta'ālā 'alā 'l-hakīkati - Maka hadith ini, lengkap ia  
 bagi kata segala 'ulama shari'at - di-kasēhani Allah ta'ala  
 akan merēka itu - bahawa sa-nya kata 'Umar, radia 'llah,  
 'anhu itu tempat nyata kalam Allah ta'ala, dan kata segala  
 42 'ulama hakikat bahawa sa-nya kata 'Umar, radia 'llah 'anhu itu,  
 ia-itu kalam Allah ta'ala atas hakikat-nya. Li 'anna  
'l-kalāma lā yakūnu 'alā 'l-hakīkati ghairu kalāmi 'llāhi s.w.t.

1) Canonical. cp. Wensinck op.cit. Vol.I, p.486: Ja'ala 'llāhu  
'l-hakka 'alā lisāni 'Umara wa kalbihi.



- kamā takaddama bayānuhu. - Dari karena bahawa sa-nya kata Umar, radīa ʾllah ʿanhu, tiada ada ia atas hakikat-nya lain daripada kalam Allah s.w.t. seperti yang telah dahulu
- 43 kenyataan-nya. Fa yanghaghi<sup>3</sup>li ʾl-ārifi ʿan yurā ʿiya baina ʾl-maʿnayaini li yanāla martabata ʾl-kummāli, fa lā yukālu li aḥadin min kalāmi ʾl-muḥakkikīna illā li ahlihi, li annahu lā yuʿrafu kalāmu<sup>1)</sup> ʾl-muḥakkikīna illā liman tabiʿa minhū. - Maka sa-yogia-nya-lah bagi ʿarif biʾllah, hendak ia memeliharakan antara dua maʿna itu, supaya sampai ia
- 44 kapada mertabat orang yang kamil. Maka tiada harus di-kata bagi sa-sa-orang jua pun daripada perkataan ʿulama muḥakkikin itu, melainkan bagi ahli-nya, dari kerana bahawa sa-nya tiada mengetahui akan perkataan ʿulama muḥakkikin itu melainkan bagi barang siapa yang mengikut mereka itu.

- Wa hum khulāṣatu ʿibādihi ʾl-khawāṣṣi wa mayyazahum baina ʾl-ʿulamāʾi bi sirri ʾl-ikhlāṣi wa wahabhum kulūban
- 45 ṣāfiyyatan, ṭāhiratan, zāhiratan fārighatan ʿan ghairi rabbihim, wa bi nūri rabbihim maʿmūratan ʿāmiratan, fa hum maṣābiḥu ʾl-zulami wa mafātīḥu ʾl-karam - Dan ada-lah ʿulama muḥakkikin itu pilihan daripada segala hamba Allah yang khas dan di-bēdza akan Allah taʿala mereka itu antara segala ʿulama dengan rahsia (surat) al-ikhlas, dan di-anugerah<sup>anugerah</sup>ai-nya
- 46 akan mereka itu segala hati yang hening lagi suci yang berchahaya ia, lagi yang selesai ia daripada yang lain daripada Tuhan mereka itu, dan dengan cahaya Tuhan mereka
- 1) Ms: yaʿrifu kalāma.



kitab Allah dan hadith rasul Allah s.a.w., hanya mushkil yang  
 51 demikian itu melainkan pada segala 'awam yang belum pai sampai  
 kepada merēka itu. Jika demikian sa-yodiā-nya-lah bagi kita  
 menyerahkan perkataan kitab merēka itu kepada Allah serta  
 tulus i'tikad kita kepada merēka itu, supaya di-anugerahai  
 Hakk s.w.t. kita kepada jalan yang kamil dengan berkat tulus  
 52 i'tikad kita kepada merēka itu, karena barangsiapa munkir akan  
 segala 'ulama muhakkikin, maka di-haramkan Allah ia akan sampai  
 kepada mertabat merēka itu.

I'lam anna kaulahu s.w.t. huwa 'l-awwalu wa 'l-akhiru wa  
'l-zāhiru wa 'l-bāṭinu, wa huwa bi-kulli shai' in 'alīmun,<sup>1)</sup>  
fa hādhihi 'l-musammātu 'indahum bi ummahāti 'l-ḥakā' iki  
wa-[1] ma'rifati 'al-kāmil [ati] - Ketahui olēh-mu, bahawa  
 53 sa-nya firman Allah s.w.t. Ia jua yang pertama dan yang  
kemudian, dan Ia jua yang nyata dan yang terbuni, dan Ia jua  
yang amat tahu akan segala sa-suatu, maka segala nama Hakk  
s.w.t. yang empat ini di-namai ia pada merēka itu ummahātu  
'l-ḥakā' ik dan ma'rifat yang kamil. Kamā kīla li-Abi Sa'id  
'al-Kharrāzi,<sup>2)</sup> bima 'arafta 'llāh? Fakāla, raḥimahu 'llāhu  
 54 bi-jam'īhi baina 'l-diddaini, yushīru ilā ma'na kaulihi huwa  
'l-awwalu wa 'l-akhiru wa 'l-zāhiru wa 'l-bāṭinu, ya'ni lā  
yajma'u baina hādhihi 'l-aqdādi ghairu 'l-Ḥakki s.w.t. -  
 Saperti yang di-tanyai orang kepada Abu Sa'id al-Kharrāz, rah-  
 mat Allah 'alaihi, dengan maya kau-kenal Allah? Maka jawab  
 55 Abu Sa'id, rahmat Allah 'alaihi: Bahawa ku-kenal Allah dengan  
 1) Qur. 57:3.

2) d. 892. cp. Brockelmann G. S I p.354.



itu ma<sup>c</sup>mur ia lagi ramai. Maka ada-lah merēka itu segala pelita yang menerangi kelam, dan segala anak kunchi kep<sup>m</sup>uliaan. Wa arwā<sup>h</sup>uhum mutaladh<sup>h</sup>idhātun bi munājāt<sup>i</sup>hi, wa asrā<sup>r</sup>uhum

47 muttajihatun bi mushāhadit<sup>i</sup>hi, wa kashafa lahum <sup>c</sup>an asrā<sup>r</sup>i kitābihi' l-hakīmu wa jama<sup>c</sup>a lahum fī ṣudūrihim ḥakā'ika 'l-sab<sup>c</sup>i 'l-mathānī, wa' l-kur' āna 'l-azīmi bi mutāba<sup>c</sup>ati nabiyyi<sup>i</sup>hi, al-ladhī unzila<sup>c</sup>alaihi: Wa innaka la<sup>c</sup>allā khulūk<sup>i</sup>n azīmin<sup>1)</sup> - Dan ada-lah segala nyawa<sup>c</sup>ulama muhakkikin itu

48 berolēh lazat ia dengan munajat ka-hadrat Allah s.w.t. dan segala rahsia merēka itu berhadap ia kapada memushahadkan dia dan di-bukakan-nya bagi merēka itu daripada segala rahsia kuran-nya yang amat hakim, dan di-h<sup>i</sup>mpunkan-nya bagi merēka itu dalam segala dada-nya segala hakikat sab<sup>c</sup>a' l - mathani, ia-itu Fatihah, dan Kuran yang adzim dengan mengikut nabi-nya

49 yang di-turunkan-nya kapada-nya ayat: Wa innaka la<sup>c</sup>allā khulūk<sup>i</sup>n azīmin<sup>2)</sup> erti-nya: Bah<sup>a</sup>wa sa-nya engkau, ya Muhammad atas perangai yang amat besar. Demikian-lah ada kelebēhan segala <sup>c</sup>ulama muhakkikin, rahimahum Allah ta<sup>c</sup>ala. Maka sa-yogia-nya-lah jangan kita munkir akan segala perkataan yang telah tersebut dalam kitab merēka itu, itu-pun jikalau tiada dapat kita memicharakan segala perkataan yang dalam

50 kitab merēka itu, maka kita pereksai pada segala<sup>c</sup>ulama yang dapat mengelenggarakan segala perkataan kitab merēka itu karna merēka itu tiada ada ia berkata saperti yang telah ada dalam kitab merēka itu, melainkan telah muafakat-lah dengan

1) Kur. 68:4.

2) Kur. 68:4.



- di-himpunkan-nya antara dua berlawanan, pada hal di-isharatkan Abu Sa'id kepada ma'na firman Allah ta'ala Ia jua yang pertama dan yang kemudian dan Ian jua yang nyata dan yang terbuni, ya'ni tiada menghimpunkan antara segala lawan ini lain daripada Hakk s.w.t. jua. Fa 'alimnā anna awwaliyyatahu 'aynu
- 56 akhiriyyatihi wa zāhiriyyatahu 'aynu bāṭiniyyatihi wa kādhā  
'aksuhu ya'ni anna akhiriyyatahu 'aynu awwaliyyatihi wa  
bāṭiniyyatahu 'aynu zāhiriyyatihi - Maka kita ketahui-lah bahawa sa-nya yang pertama Hakk ta'ala itu keadaan yang kemudian-nya dan yang nyata-nya itu keadaan yang terbuni-nya; dan demikian lagi balēk-nya pun, ya'ni bahawa sa-nya yang
- 57 kesudahan Hakk ta'ala itu keadaan yang pertama-nya, dan yang terbuni-nya itu keadaan yang nyata-nya. Fa' alimnā anna  
'ayna 'l-dhāti 'l-muṭlaqi hiya 'l-musammātu bi hādhihi 'l-asma'i  
'l-muttaṣifatu bi-hādhihi 'l-ṣifāti min nisbati waḥdatihā,  
'l-latī lā takaththura fīhā wa lā ta'adduda bi wajhin min al-  
wujūhi aslan abadan fa'fham hādhihi 'l-ma'rifatu 'l-kāmilatu  
'l-wāṣilat. - Maka kita ketahui-lah bahawa sa-nya keadaan
- 58 dhat Hakk s.w.t. yang mutlak itu, ia-itu yang di-namai ia dengan segala nama ini lagi yang di-sifatkan ia dengan segala sifat ini daripada nisbat ke-esaan dhat-nya yang tiada banyak dan yang tiada berbilang pada dhat-nya dengan suatu pēhak daripada segala pēhak pun sakali-kali dan sa-lama-lama-nya.
- 59 Maka pahami-lah olēh-mu ini-lah ma'rifat yang sempurna lagi wasil. Wa ammā min haithu 'l-mazāhiru wa 'l-maḥūrātu, fa  
li 'l-taghāyuri wa 'l-tamāyuzi ma'nan yarji'u ilā 'l-ismi min  
haithu mā yumayyazubihī 'an ghairihī fa kaṭ, lā min haithu



- dalālatuhā 'ani 'l-dhāti 'l-aḥadiyya - Ada pun daripada pēhak segala madzhar-nya dan segala yang di-dzahirkan-nya, maka yang berubah-ubah dan yang berlain-lainan itu suatu ma'na yang kembali ia kepada suatu ismu daripada pēhak barang yang membēdzakan ia dengan dia daripada ismu yang lain-nya jua, hanya tiada daripada pēhak dālat dzuhur-nya daripada dhat ahadiat. Li' anna 'l-dhāta wāhidun fī 'l-ḥaḳīḳati, lā ta'adduda fīhā, wa huwa dhātu 'l-bārī s.w.t. fa'fham, a'ānaka 'llāhu fī taḥṣīli 'l-ma'rifati 'l-kāmil[at] - Daripada karena bahawa sa-nya dhat itu suatu jua pada hakikat-nya, tiada berbilang dalam-nya, ia-itu dhat Hakk s.w.t. maka pahami-lah olēh-mu, di-tolongi Allah s.w.t. akan dikau pada menghasilkan ma'rifat yang sempurna. Fa'in kīla laka idha kāna awwaliyyatuhu 'ayna akhiriyyatihi famā ma'na kauliḥi s.w. kāna 'llāhu wa-lam yakun ma'ahu shai'un - Maka jika di-tanya orang akan dikau apabila yang ada pertama Hakk ta'ala itu keadaan yang kemudian-nya maka apa ma'na sabda nabi s.a.w.: Telah ada Allah ta'ala dan tiada ada serta-nya sa-suatu jua pun. Fa 'l-jawābu'anhu thabbata s.a.w. al-awwaliyyata lā bi ma'nā iftitāḥi 'l-wujūdi lahu, taḥaddasa 'an dhālika 'uluwan kabīran, wa innamā huwa ikhbārun 'an dawāmi wujūdihi, bali 'l-āna kamā kāna, ya'ni lā wujūda'alā 'l-ḥaḳīḳati ghaira wujūdihi s.w.t. - Maka jawab daripada-nya telah di-thabitkan nabi s.a.w. Ia jua yang pertama itu, tiada pada ma'na terbuka wujud-nya bagi-nya jua yang maha suchi lagi

1) Not in Wensinck, but quoted frequently by Sūfī authors.



yang maha tinggi daripada demikian itu dengan ketinggian yang amat besar, hanya, sa-nya nabi mengkhabarkan itu daripada berkekalan wujud-nya jua, tetapi sekarang pun saperti ada Ia yang dahulu itu jua, ya'ni tiada wujud atas hakikat-nya lain daripada wujud Hakk s.w.t itu jua. Ya'ni apabila di-tanyai

65 orang akan dikau apabila ada-lah tiada ada wujud lain daripada wujud Allah, maka apa jua yang ada kelihatan berbagai-bagai ini, dan yang berwarna-warna ini? Maka jawab olēh-mu ada pun segala rupa yang kelihatan <sup>berbagai-bagai</sup> berbagai-bagai ini dan yang berwarna-warna ini akan penunjukkan wujud Hakk s.w.t. yang

66 tiada berbagai-bagai dan berwarna-warna itu jua, tetapi jikalau kau-kehendaki pada menyimpankan kata atas hakikat-nya maka kata olēh-mu: Tetapi sakalian rupa, rupa-nya itu jua dengan tiada betapa, dan sakalian warna, warna-nya itu jua dengan tiada betapa, dan sakalian bunyi, bunyi-nya itu jua dengan tiada betapa, dan dengan tiada hulūl dan tadākhul ya'ni

67 dengan tiada bermasok-masokan fayā subhāna 'llāh! Maka betapa dapat terperi bermasok-masokan pada suatu wujud yang tiada ada wujud lain daripada wujud-nya, karena yang dapat di-perikan pada bermasok-masokan itu hanya pada dua wujud jua.

Maka nyata-lah kapada segala arif yang berolēh untong

68 bahagia 'ilmu ma'rifat Allah itu hanya segala perkara yang berbagai-bagai nyata kelihatan ini akan madzhar wujud-nya yang tiada berbagai-bagai itu jua. Maka dari karena ini-lah di-bawa olēh sa-tengah daripada segala 'ulama muhakkikin mithal upama ombak dengan ayēr. Maka daripada pēhak madzhar-nya dan asma'-nya ombak itu lain daripada ayēr. Ada pun jika kau-tilek



- 69 dan kau-fikirkan daripada pēhak hakikat-nya dan batin-nya, bahawa-sa-nya ombak itu tiada lain daripada ayēr, hanya yang lain-nya itu pada nama-nya dan dzahir-nya itu jua. Maka surut-lah engkau kemudian daripada sudah kau-ketahui isharat ini daripada guru-mu yang 'arif itu kepada memelihara segala orang 'am yang belum pai berolēh isharat 'ilmu mar'ifat
- 70 Allah ta'ala daripada murshid-nya yang kamil mukammal itu dengan kata-mu di-hadapan merēka itu: Yang ombak itu ombak jua, dan yang ayēr itu ayēr jua, tiada ada ombak itu menjadi ayēr dan tiada ayēr itu menjadi ombak, demikian-lah kata-mu di-hadapan merēka itu, supaya kau-perolēh mertabat kummal yang kamil mukammal yang menghimpunkan antara tanzih dan tashbih,
- 71 dan yang membēdzakan antara 'am dan khas. Maka jangan kau-berkata dengan sa-sa-orang melainkan sa-kira-kira 'akal-nya dan penerimaan-nya itu jua, karena barang siapa mengatakan kata 'ilmu ma'rifat Allah pada bukan tempat-nya, tiada ia akan menjoki dia, melainkan akan bersesat dia itu jua.

Wa'lam anna asmā' l-ilāhiyyatī min haithu 'l-tarakki

- 72 wa 'l-tawassutu fa' l-awwalu minhā hiya 'l-ḥadratu 'l-wāhidiyyatī 'l-latī intashā'at minhā 'l-kathratu wa ilaiḥā yurja'u 'l-amru kulluhu. - Ketahui olēh-mu bahawa sa-nya segala nama Hakk s.w.t. daripada pēhak tarakki-nya dan pertengahan-nya, maka yang pertama daripada-nya ia-itu mertabat wahidat yang terbit daripada-nya kathrah dan kapada-nya jua di-kembalikan
- 73 perkerjaan sakalian-nya. Ammā ḥadratu 'l-aḥadiyyati min haithu hiya hiya, fa lā yuṭlaqu 'alaiḥā ismun wa lā waṣfun wa lā yudāfu ilaiḥā waṣfun wa lā yaṣihḥu an yu'lama an yushḥa

1) Ms. turja'u.



au yukhayala au yu'kala, wa mā lī aḥā<sup>1)</sup> din<sup>1)</sup> an yadkhula fī  
tilka 'l-ḥadrati ghairahu min al-anbiyā'i wa lā 'l-malā'

74 ikati mukurabīn. - Ada pun mertabat ahadiat daripada pēhak  
ia ke-iyaa-nya maka tiada di-sebutkan atas-nya sa-suatu nama  
dan tiada sa-suatu sifat pun, dan tiada di-idzafatkan kepada-  
nya sa-suatu sifat dan tiada sa-suatu na'at pun dan tiada sah  
di-ketahui akan dia atau di-mushahdahkan akan dia, atau  
di-khayalkan akan dia atau di'akalkan akan dia, dan tiada

75 sa-sa-orang, jua masok pada mertabat itu lain daripada Hakk  
s.w.t. daripada segala nabi Allah dan tiada daripada segala  
mala'ikat yang mukarabin pun. Wa ammā ḥadratu 'l-waḥdati,  
fa hiya 'l-maṣūfatu 'l-muṣṣanātū bi 'l-asmā'i 'l-ḥusnā  
wa 'l-ṣifāti 'l-ʿulyā, wa aīdan lahā bāṭinun wa zāhirun fa

76 bāṭinuhā hiya 'l-huwiyyatu 'l-ghaib<sup>uyyatu</sup>iyatu ~~iyatu~~ wa zāhiruhā  
'l-ḥadratu 'l-ilāhiyyatu wa maẓharuhā min haithu butūnukā  
'l-ḥaḳīkatu 'l-Muḥammadiyyatu wa min haithu zuhūruhā 'l-rūhu  
'l-Aḥmadiyya - Dan ada pun mertabat wahdat itu, maka ia-itu

yang di-sifatkan ia lagi yang di-namai ia dengan segala nama  
yang maha elok dan dengan segala sifat yang maha tinggi dan  
77 lagi pun <sup>ada</sup> ~~bagi~~ wahdat itu batin dan dzahir. Maka yang batin-  
nya itu, ia itu huwiat ghaibiat nama-nya, dan yang dzahir-nya  
itu, ia-itu hadrat ilahiat nama-nya, dan tempat nyata wahdat  
daripada pēhak batin-nya itu, ia-itu hakikat Muhammad dan  
daripada dzahir-nya itu, ia-itu ruh Ahmad. Wa ammā min haithu

1) Ms. mā aḥadun.



- 78 wahdatuhā 'l-dhātiyyatu 'l-barzakhiyyatu 'l-wāsiṭiyyatu, fa  
lahā mazharun wa majlan, fa mazharuhā 'l-insānu 'l-kāmilu  
'l-man'ūtu bi nuḡṭati markazi 'l-dā' irati fī ba' di'ibārati  
'l-muhakkikīna 'l-marsūmatu<sup>1)</sup> baina 'l-wājibi wa 'l-mumkini bi  
Muhammadim ṣ.w.a. wa majlāhā 'l-kalāmu 'l-a'la 'l-mu'abbaru
- 79 'anhu fī lisāni 'l-arwāhi bi 'l-akli 'l-awwal. - Dan ada pun  
 daripada pēhak wahdat-nya yang dhatiat lagi yang barzakh  
 wastiah itu, maka ada bagi-nya tempat nyata dan tempat tajalli.  
 Maka tempat nyata-nya itu insan kamil yang di-sifatkan ia dengan  
 nuktah markaz al-da'irah pada sa-tengah 'ibarat 'ulama  
 muhakkikin yang tersurat dan yang di-namai akan dia antara
- 80 wajib dan mungkin itu dengan Muhammad ṣ.a.w. Dan tempat  
 tajalli-nya itu kalam al-a'la yang di-rachanakan daripada-nya  
 pada lisan arwah dengan 'akal al-awwal. Ya'ni: maka tatkala  
 nyata-lah pada segala 'arif bahawa sa-nya Muhammad rasul Allah  
 ṣ.a.w. itu tempat kenyataan yang amat sempurna yang meliputi
- 81 sakalian kenyataan yang amat nyata, maka daripada-nya-lah  
 terbit sakalian isharat dhat yang mutlak dan segala asma' yang  
 maha tinggi seperti sabda-nya yang maha mulia. Ana mina  
'llāhi wa 'l-'ālamu minnī, ya'ni: Aku daripada Allah dan  
sakalian 'alam daripada aku, ya'ni di-jadikan sakalian 'alam  
 daripada chayaya-ku jua seperti di-jadikan-nya akan daku
- 82 daripada chahaya-nya yang maha tinggi itu jua.

I'lam anna ma'rifata 'l-Hakki ṣ.w.t. mustahikkun  
bi-kamāli 'l-yakīni mutahakkikun bi-baṣīrati 'l-'ārifīna, wa  
 1) Ms: al-masūmat.



huwa annahu laisa ka-mithlihi shai' un<sup>1)</sup> muḥīṭun<sup>2)</sup> li-kulli  
 shai' in, li-kulli shai' in 'alīmun samī'un baṣīrun murīdun,  
 fa' 'ālun limā yurīdu, fa lā tudrikuhu 'l-abṣāru kunhan  
 li-dhātihi wa huwa yudriku 'l-abṣāra 'ājizatan<sup>3)</sup> 'an idrākihi-

- 83 Ketahui' olēh-mu bahawa sa-nya ma'rifat akan Hakk s.w.t. itu  
 mustahikk ia dengan penglihat mata hati 'arifin dan bahawa  
 sa-nya Ia jua Tuhan yang amat meliputi akan segala sa-sua tu,  
 84 dan Ia jua Tuhan yang amat mengetahui' bagi segala sa-sua tu,  
 Yang amat menengar, lagi Yang amat melihat, Yang berkehendak,  
 lagi yang berbuat sa-kehendak-nya. Maka tiada di-perdapat  
 olēh segala mata akan kunhi dhat-nya, dan Ia jua Tuhan yang  
 berdapatkan segala mata, lagi lemah-lah daripada berdapat Dia.  
 Kamā kāla 'llāhu ta'ālā fī kitābihi 'l-abrari<sup>4)</sup>: lā tudrikuhu  
 85 'l-abṣāru wa-huwa yudriku 'l-abṣār<sup>5)</sup> - Saperti firman Allah  
 ta ala dalam kitab-nya yang abrar: Tiada di-perdapat olēh  
 segala mata akan Hakk s.w.t. dan Ia jua yang berdapatkan segala  
 mata. Wa kād wahabaka 'llāhu husna 'l-'akli li-yufarrika  
 baina 'l-ḥaqqi wa 'l-butli<sup>6)</sup> wa yuhkima bi 'l-shāhidi 'alā  
 86 'l-ghā' ibi wa-yuzhira 'alaika ghāyata 'l-'ajā' ibi wa huwa  
 yudriku ṣifāti'llāhi 'l-'ulyā bi manā'ati 'l-taklīfi 'l-shar'ī.-

Dan sa-nya di-anugerahai' Hakk s.w.t. akan dikau sa-baik-baik  
 'akal supaya di-bēdzakan-nya antara perkataan yang be<sup>n</sup>har dan

1) Kur. 42:11.

2) Ms: muḥītan.

3) Ms; 'ājizan.

4) Ms: abrār.

5) Kur. 6:103.

6) Ms. aṭali.



- yang sia-sia dan supaya di-hukumkan-nya dengan yang di-pandang  
 87 atas yang ghaib; dan supaya di-dzahirkan-nya atas-mu kesudah-  
 sudahan 'ajaib, dan ia-lah yang berapatkan sifat Allah yang  
 maha tinggi dengan membēdzakan taklif shari'. Ya<sup>(ni.....</sup> 1)  
 maka tiada sa-harus-nya atas segala 'arif membukakan kata rah-  
 sia 'ilmu ma'rifat Allah atas segala 'awam yang berpegang  
 88 merēka itu kapada dzahir shari'a, melainkan kapada yang dapat  
 mengelenggarakan dzahir shari'a dan batin-nya, ia-itu segala  
 merēka yang telah berolēh anugerah daripada Hakk s.w.t. pada  
 menghimpukan antara ma'rifat tanzih dan tashbih dari karena  
 barang siapa telah di-anugerahai Hakk s.w.t. akan dia ma'rifat  
 tanzih dan tashbih, maka orang itu-lah itu-lah yang bernama  
 89 'arif yang kamil mukammal yang berolēh 'inayat 'ilmu ma'rifat  
 Allah yang sempurna. Maka sa-yogia-nya-lah bagi segala 'arif  
 hendak jangan di-kata-katakan-nya rahsia 'ilmu ma'rifat Allah  
 itu, melainkan kapada tempat-nya itu jua, karena pada dzahir-  
 nya itu ada-batin-nya, dan pada batin-nya itu ada dzahir-nya.  
 90 I'lam annaka lā yumkinu ma'rifatu 'l-dhāti 'l-mukaddasati  
bi-kunhi 'l-hakīkati illā bi'ināyati luṭfihi 'l-khafiyyati,  
innamā tatawassalu ilā ma'rifati 'llāhi ta'ālā bi asmā'ihī  
wa sifātihi 'alā ma warada bihi al-shar'u 'l-kadīmu fī  
ahkāmihī - Ketahuī<sup>o</sup> lēh-mu bahawa sa-nya engkau tiada dapat  
 91 kunī hakikat-nya melainkan dengan tulong penyayang-nya<sup>nya</sup>  
 yang terbuni itu jua, hanya sa-nya wasil engkau kapada ma'rifat  
 1) Lacuna in text.



Allah ta'ala itu dengan segala nama-nya dan segala sifat-nya atas yang datang dengan dia shari'a yang amat tegoh pada segala hukum-nya. Wa idhā kad 'arafta, ayyuhā 'l-sāliku

- 92 'l-hādhiku fi-ri'āyati 'l-tanzīhi wa 'l-tashbīhi fā-majliyyai  
'l-ẓāhiri wa-makhfiyyi 'l-bāṭini, falā budda laka min al-  
mushāhadati bi ḥudūri kalbika ilā hadrati 'l-kudsiyyati  
wa 'stighrāki wujūdika 'l-baniyyati li' 'l-kurbiyyati  
'l-muḥibbiyyati bi 'l-jadhbiyyati 'l-jamāliyyati 'inda' nkishāfi  
'l-ḥujubi 'l-zulmāniyyati wa tuṭālī' u 'l-asmā'a wa 'l-ṣifāti  
'l-ʿulyā fī nuskhati 'l-āfāki wa 'l-anfusi kad tajallā 'inda
- 93 'l-muḥakkikīna 'l-kāmil - Dan sa-nya, apabila kau-kenal-lah,  
hai salik yang bijaksana pada memelihara-kan ma'rifat tanzih  
dan tashbih, pada menyatakan yang dzahir-nya dan membunikan  
yang batin-nya, maka sa-yegia-nya ta-dapat tiada bagi-mu  
daripada mushahadah dengan menghadirkan hati-mu kapada hadrat  
yang maha suchi dan mengaramkan wujud-mu yang fana' kapada
- 94 damping yang mengasēhi dengan hēla yang jamaliah tatkala  
terbuka-lah dinding dzulami dan kau-tilik-lah segala asma -nya  
dan segala sifat-nya yang maha tinggi pada nuskhah 'Alam  
Kabir dan 'Alam Saghir, sa-nya nyata-lah ia pada 'ulama  
muḥakkikin yang kamil mukammal itu. Wa 'llāhu a'lam.



## Tract 1.

From this it follows that anyone who looks at anything will perceive sometimes its exoteric and sometimes its esoteric or essential aspect, and his perception of it exoterically is called Tashbīh and esoterically Tanzīh, for everything has an aspect of immanence and transcendence, that of immanence is referred to as Tashbīh, and that of transcendence as Tanzīh. And it is through (a realisation of) this that the Perfect Man completes his knowledge, for one whose apprehension combines immanence and transcendence is named the truly perfect.

Know that the Essence of God, is Absolute, cannot be qualified in any way. If then you are asked whether the exterior and plural determinations which exist now issue forth from God or not, say that none of them issues from Him, but that all the names by which we know Him are hidden in the treasure-chest of His being. And when God wished to manifest His most inner self in its unity which was thus hidden He lifted the veils concealing the names of His Godhead, as is stated in His exalted word: I was a hidden treasure, and I desired to be known, and I created creation that I might be known. This hidden treasure chest is used by the gnostics to indicate the hidden quintessence, the most holy absoluteness and pre-eternal



most inner self of God, and denotes the deep hidden mystery of His Essence. It signifies the first determination which excludes everything other than God, for in reality this grade is that of Wahda.

When God contemplated His names through His knowledge there was a process involving three subjects: Essence, Attributes and Names. Some of the gnostics have referred to them in their books as Ahadiyya, Wahda and Wahidiyya; others have named them 'ilm, 'alim and ma'lum, and yet others term them 'ishk, 'ashik and ma'shuk. (Love, the Lover and the Loved) but do not dawdle over these names for in reality (hakika) they are all one and the same, differing only according to the arrangement of the terms for Ahadiyya signifies the Essence, Wahda the Attributes and Wahidiyya the Names, but in reality Essence, Attributes and Names are one and the same. Similarly the arrangements of the various spiritual grades that you see in some of the books of the gnostics are only intended as a description of these different grades, that is to say which differ according to the aspects of immanence or transcendence, for if you consider (creation) from the standpoint of immanence, then you must do so in terms of the various grades that have been enumerated above; but if you regard it from that of transcendence you find nothing but God Himself, of Whom it is said: There is none like unto Him."



Whoever studies the books of the gnostics should approach them with faith, for everything they have said, and what is set down in this book is in accordance with the ~~Qurān~~ <sup>Kurān</sup> and the Tradition of the Prophet. If then there is anything that is not clear to your understanding, as though in fact their teachings appeared at variance with these authorities, this is due to your lack of understanding. You should plead for guidance from God and make a sincere act of faith in the Sūfī doctors ('Ulamā' Muhakkik<sup>g</sup>). Do not disavow them that God may lead you on the right path, for whoever disavows them, so far from progressing on that path will be led more and more astray, for those who have not yet received from the bounty of God a knowledge that is perfect have far to go before they can understand their words. You should do nothing like that, but have a strong faith in them, and not disavow anyone of them.

Know that when God contemplated His Names through His knowledge, there was a process involving three subjects: 'ālim, 'ilm ma'lūm (The Knower, Knowledge and the Known). He who looks is the knower, that which is seen is the known and the act of seeing is knowledge. From the standpoint of reality, however, these three names are one and the same, for what is called 'ilm, 'ālim and ma'lūm is what others of the learned refer to as Aḥadiyya, Waḥda and



Wāhidiyya. From the standpoint of their names these three are different but from that of reality they are one and the same. Ahadiyya signifies the Essence, Wahda the Attributes and Wāhidiyya the Names, but these three are one and the same. Similarly the expressions 'ishk, 'āshik and ma'shūk which we find used in some of the books of the Sūfīs are also one and the same, as in the previous instance, the only difference lying in the terms which the Shaikhs use. God is termed the Knower His knowledge being understood as applying to all things, for knowledge is an attribute, and through it He brought them from pure non-being to pure being.

Know that His Essence is veiled by His Attributes, and His Attributes by His names, and His names are veiled by His Acts and His Acts by His Effects. God's purpose in hiding himself behind these veils was that the (mystical) lover should be diligent in the seeking of Him and - were he able to pierce the veil - that he contemplate the Essence of God in His Unconditional Being. Nevertheless the diligence (in striving) is only a grace of God bestowed upon the mystical lover as some of the gnostics say in their verse: Had it not been for His ancient love, I would not have been sincere in my seeking of Him, but he is both the Seeker and the Sought, as it is said: "From Him is the beginning and unto Him the return." If this



be so anyone who obtains this grace of gnosis should consider his exterior self from the standpoint of its hidden origin which is God, nevertheless not by indwelling (ḥulūl) or mutual penetration (tadākhul) for there cannot be indwelling or penetration unless there are two beings. On the contrary all the learned who have attained gnosis are certain that being is one, and that this manifold world is only the external manifestation of a being that is One. In reality there is no variety, for all species are His Species, but without modality, and all forms are His Forms without modality; all sounds are His Sounds but without modality and all acts are His Acts without modality. If this be so then the doctrine of the learned is true, namely that all being is one.

Every gnostic should bring himself close to the Presence of God. Know that closeness to God is not achieved by anyone except through a knowledge that is proper to the Perfect Man, and when he achieves it God grants him to savour the sweetness of it even in this world. For this reason some gnostics have said: Who tastes know (i.e. obtains gnosis) and who tastes not knows not; the latter have not prospered, but are like cattle, indeed they are more astray than cattle, moreover they are the greater part of mankind. As Mālik b. Dinar has said: How many people go out from this world without



tasting the sweetest of all things, and that is the knowledge of God - may He be praised and exalted. For it is through His sheer manifestness that God is concealed from the vulgar, and also through His jealous guarding of Himself, despite the fact that all things proceed from Him.

And as the Prophet of God said when he was asked: If good and bad fortune are pre-determined, what is the use of good works, oh Apostle of God? He replied: Do what you will, for everyone is directed to what has been decreed for him. But even if this be true, you should keep the Law and obey the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs. Do not let the saying of those in Ecstasy, concerning the keeping of the Law, deceive you, although it be true from the standpoint of reality (ḥakīka). Such was the saying of Al-Ḥallāj "I am God" which he uttered while in ecstasy; his condition overcame him without any deliberate intention on his part, and Almighty God spoke on his tongue without his intending it. In reality the words belonged to God not to himself. Indeed it is true there is no other being than God, <sup>may</sup> He be praised and exalted. As the Prophet said: God Himself spoke on the tongue of Umar. This tradition embodies the views of the doctors of the Law - may God be merciful to them and the Ṣūfī doctors as well. The doctors of the Law - may God be merciful to them -



say that the speech of 'Umar was the medium for the expression of God's Word, whereas the Sūfi doctors say that the speech of 'Umar was in fact that of God, the speech of 'Umar being none other than His speech, as was explained previously. The gnostic should take account of both interpretations so that he may reach the rank of perfection. Moreover he should not repeat the teaching of these Sūfi doctors to anyone other than those worthy of it, for none will understand it except those who follow them.

These Sūfi doctors are the cream of the elect of God's servants, and He has favoured them with the secret of purity and given them hearts which are spotless, clean, suffused with light and divested from everything other than their Lord by Whose light they are made to prosper and bring prosperity. They are the lamps that brighten the darkness and Keys to the gates of honour. Their souls delight in communion with Him and their spirits are face to face with Him; the secrets of His wise book are revealed to them and the Sab'al Mathānī (i.e. the Fātiḥa) and the Holy Ku'rān are gathered within their breasts because they followed His Prophet to whom was revealed: Truly thou art of a noble disposition. Such is the greatness of the doctors of Truth, may God be merciful to them. Under no circumstances should we disavow what has been set down in their



books; nevertheless, if there is anything that we cannot understand we should ask those who are able to handle all that has been said in their books, for they only say in them what accords with Holy Writ and the Tradition of the Prophet. Difficulties of that kind only beset such of the vulgar as have not reached their rank (in understanding Tradition and the *Ḳur'ān*). Therefore we should leave their books to God but have a sincere faith in them so that God ~~may~~ <sup>may</sup> grant us perfect guidance and bless this sincere faith of ours, for whoever disavows the *Ṣūfī* doctors will be debarred by Almighty God from reaching their rank.

Know ye that the *Ḳur'ān* says: God is the First and the Last, the Manifest and the Hidden, and knows all things. These four names are known among the *Ṣūfīs* as the Mothers of Hidden Realities and of Perfect Knowledge. As Abu Sa'īd al-Kharrāz said when he was asked: How do you know God? He replied: I know Him through His combining of opposites; referring to the meaning of the saying: He is the First and Last, the Manifest and the Hidden, that is to say these contraries are not united except in Almighty God, ~~may~~ He be praised and exalted. And we know that His Firstness is His Lastness, and His Hiddenness His Manifestness. Similarly the converse is true: His Lastness is His Firstness and His Manifestness is His Hiddenness. We also know that it is His own absolute Essence that is



called these names and receives these attributes in respect of the unity of His Essence in which there is no manifoldness or multiplicity from any aspect or at any time. With regard to the manifestations and what they display, otherness and distinction have a significance inasmuch as these are a matter of name, by which one thing is distinguished from another, but not as referring to the Essence of Unity, for in reality the Essence is One, and there is no manifoldness in it. Such is the Essence of the Creator. If you understand this, then God will help you to attain Perfect Knowledge. You must know that this is the knowledge that is perfect and final.

= If you are asked: If His Firstness is His Lastness, what is the meaning of the Prophetic Tradition: God was, and there was nothing with Him? The answer is that the Prophet was affirming God's firstness, not in the sense of a beginning of God's being - God is exalted above that - but rather he was only declaring the eternity of His Being, which is now as It was, that is to say, in reality, there is no being other than His Being. So when you are asked: If there is no being other than His Being why does this world appear manifold? Reply that all the various forms and colours that are to be seen serve to indicate the True Reality (Wujūd al-Hakk) in which there are no varieties or colours. And if you wish to epitomize the matter, then



say that all forms are His Forms without modality, all colours are His Colours, but without modality, and all sounds are His sounds without modality.

Praise be to Allah! How can "penetration" be spoken of when there is one being and none other in existence, for penetration can only be spoken of when there are two beings.

It is clear to all who have been blessed with gnosis of God that all the various entities that are to be seen are only the external appearances of a Being in which there is no plurality. For this reason some of the Ṣūfī doctors have taken a simile from the differing forms of wave and water. From the standpoint of appearance and name wave is different from water, but if you consider it from the standpoint of its inner reality, you will see that wave does not differ from water, the apparent difference being only in name and appearance. After you have learned the real meaning of this simile ~~doctrine~~ from your teacher who has achieved gnosis, withdraw from him after having learned it, and in order to keep it from those who have not yet obtained guidance to this mystical knowledge from such a teacher, say that the wave is truly wave, and the water is truly water; water does not become wave, nor wave water - thus should you speak to them so that you obtain the rank of the perfect who combine trans-



cendence and immanence and who can distinguish between the vulgar ('amm) and the select (khas). Take care not to speak to anyone concerning these mysteries without considering his intelligence and receptivity, for whoever speaks of the science of the knowledge of God where it should not be spoken, so far from guiding a person, will lead him astray.

Know that the first of the names of God - in point of marking a stage of ascent and occupying an intermediary position - is Wāhidiyya, from which arises multiplicity, and to which everything returns. As for the grade of Ahadiyya, considered in itself, no name or description can be applied to it, neither can a description or an adjective be related to it, it cannot be known, contemplated, imagined or understood, and there is none who can enter that grade other than God Himself, not even the Prophets, or the angels of the throne. As for the grade of Wahda, it is that which is described with the beautiful names and lofty attributes. It has an esoteric and an exoteric meaning: the esoteric is the Hidden Self (i.e. the Grade Huwa), and the exoteric is the grade of Godhead (i.e. the grade Allāh).<sup>1)</sup> Its outward expression, from the standpoint of its esoteric character is the Reality that is Muhammad (Hakikat Muhammadiyya) and from the standpoint of its exoteric character the soul of Ahmad (Rūḥ Ahmadiyya).

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1) cp. p.



In regard to its essential and intermediary aspects, Wahda also has an outward expression and a manifestation. Its outward expression is the Perfect Man referred to by some of the learned as the centre of the circle described between the necessary and the possible by Muḥammad; its manifestation is the lofty pen which in spiritual language is termed The first Intellect. In other words, when the gnostics realize that Muḥammad the Apostle of God is a perfect manifestation exceeding all other, then from him arise arise all the indications of the pure Essence and lofty names according to his saying: I am from God, and the world is from me. That is to say the whole of creation was made from my light as I was created from that of Almighty God.

Know that gnosis of God requires a perfect faith and is realized by the vision of the gnostics, that is: There is nothing like unto Him Who encompasses all things, Who is all-knowing, all-seeing, all-willing and the doer of whatever He wills. Vision cannot perceive Him in His Essence, but He can perceive vision as it fails to encompass Him, as God said in His Holy Book: Vision comprehendeth Him not, but He comprehends all vision.

Moreover God has given you subtlety of intellect to discriminate between the true and the false, to infer the hidden from the visible and to reveal to you the greatest



of wonders. Moreover it comprehends the lofty attributes of God such as come within the range of legal obligation. (Lacuna in text)

The gnostic should not disclose the secrets of the knowledge of God to those who cling to the external law, but only to those who observe it in point of its exterior and its hidden meaning i.e. those who have received from Almighty God the gift of combining immanence and transcendence, for whoever receives<sup>s</sup> this gift is perfect in knowledge, and obtains peace in~~the~~ perfect gnosis of God. The gnostics should not however, speak of the knowledge of God except in its proper place, for everything has its inner meaning, and every inner meaning has its outward expression.

Know that it is impossible for you to reach a knowledge of the pure Essence of God without the assistance of His hidden grace, although you might attain a knowledge of Him through His names and attributes as set down in the Law which is secure in its decrees. And when you have attained gnosis, oh journeyer, skilled in taking into account immanence and transcendence, opening the manifest and concealing the hidden, you will surely have in your heart a vision of the most pure Essence, and drown your perishable being in the nearness of love and the compelling attraction of His beauty, when the veil of darkness is removed and you gaze upon the names and the lofty attributes



in the microcosm and the macrocosm - truly that is what  
is revealed to the Ṣūfī doctors.



Tract II Ms. p. 98-107

- 98 Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmāni 'l-Rahīm - Dengan nama Allah jua  
aku memulai memacha perkataan yang dalam surat ini, Yang  
amat murah yang amat mengasiani. Al-Hamdu 'l i'llāhi hakka  
hamdih - segala puji-pujian bagi Allah dengan sa-benar  
puji-nya; wa'l-salātu wa'l-salāmu 'alā man lā nabiyya min  
ba'dih - dan rahmat Allah dan salam-nya atas nabi Allah yang  
99 tiada nabi kemudian-nya. | Wa ba'du ada pun kemudian dari itu  
maka ini perkataan menyatakan 'ibarat sabda nabi Allah s.a.w.:  
Man 'arafa nafsahu fakad 'arafa rabbahu,<sup>1)</sup> erti-nya: Barang  
siapa mengenal diri-nya maka sa-nya mengenal Tuhan-nya; dan  
menyatakan 'ibarat sabda nabi rasul Allah s.a.w.: A'rafukum  
binafsihi a'rafukum bi rabbihi,<sup>2)</sup> erti-nya: Yang terlebēh  
100 | daripada kamu mengenal diri-nya, ia-lah yang terlebēh  
daripada kamu mengenal Tuhan-nya. Ada pun 'ibarat dua  
hadith ini menyatakan barang siapa sa-sa-orang daripada hamba  
Allah yang berolēh jalan betul kapada Allah ta'ala dengan  
berolēh ma 'rifat yang sempurna yang turun temurun daripada  
nabi Muhammad rasul Allah s.a.w. yang sampai kampada Shaikh  
101 Sayyid | 'Abdal-Kādir Jilānī,<sup>3)</sup> kadassa 'llāhu sirrahu, yang  
sampai kapada barang siapa yang di-kehendaki Allah ta'ala

1) Not in Wensinck but quoted frequently by Sufi authors.

2) " " " " " " " " " "

3) d.1166 a.d. Brockelmann G.I. P.435



menunjoki dia jalan yang betul pada ma'rifat-nya akan Allah ta'ala, dan pada menunjoki dia jalan yang betul pada ma'rifat-nya akan diri-nya, maka barang siapa sempurna ma'rifat-nya akan diri-nya neschaya sempurna ma'rifat-nya akan Allah ta'ala. Maka 'ibarat hadith nabi Muhammad s.a.w.

102 | bahawa-sa-nya sa-yogia-nya akan sa-sa-orang hamba Allah menchari ma'rifat-nya akan diri-nya supaya sempurna ma'rifat-nya akan Tuhan-nya.

Ada pun 'ibarat diri itu: a'yan thabitah ka'im pada 'ilmu Allah, dan 'ilmu Allah itu ka'im pada dhat Allah ta'ala - erti ka'im itu tetap - Dan 'alam arwah, erti-nya segala nyawa itu, tetap dengan a'yan thabitah; dan 'alam mithal, 103 erti-nya | nyawa yang bernama 'alam mithal itu, tetap dengan 'alam arwah; dan 'alam ajsam, erti-nya segala tuboh yang tebal itu, tetap dengan 'alam mithal. Maka a'yan thabitah dan 'alam arwah dan 'alam mithal dan 'alam ajsam, sakalian-nya itu bernama diri.

Maka apabila sempurna-lah pengenalan akan diri seperti yang tersebut itu, maka bahawa-sa-nya di-kenal-nya-lah akan 104 Allah ta'ala | karena a'yan thabitah itu berupa seperti rupa yang di-luar 'ilmu Allah ini, tetepi rupa-nya pun segala yang di-luar 'ilmu Allah ini; dan 'alam arwah itu berupa dengan rupa cahaya; dan 'alam mithal itu berupa dengan rupa cahaya lagi dengan rupa tuboh, tetapi ia latif, erti-nya 105a nipis dan halus yang tiada dapat di-sukukan dan tiada | dapat di-sa-tengahkan lagi tiada sampai kapada-nya binasa dan lenyap.



Dan ʿalam ajsam itu berupa saperti rupa yang terlihat mata kepala kita ini, tetapi ia tebal lagi dapat di-sukukan dan dapat di-sa|tengahkan, lagi sampai kapada-nya binasa dan lenyap.

Maka barang siapa sa-sa-orang daripada hamba Allah mengenal diri-nya saperti yang|tersebut itu, neschaya di-kenal-nya-lah Tuhan-nya dengan sempurna pengenal-nya karena Tuhan-nya itu tiada berupa dengan rupa aʿyan thabitah dan tiada berupa dengan rupa ʿalam arwah dan tiada berupa dengan rupa ʿalam mithal, dan tiada berupa dengan rupa ʿalam ajsam karena dhat Tuhan-nya: Laisa ka-mithlihi shaiʿun,<sup>1)</sup> erti-nya:

105 (sic) Tiada sa-bagai-nya|sa-suatu. Betapa peri-nya ada akan Dia  
rupa daripada segala rupa yang tersebut itu? Tetapi dhat  
Tuhan-nya yang tiada sa-bagai-nya sa-suatu itu lengkap  
kapada segala rupa yang tersebut itu, yaʿni tiada ia sunyi  
pada segala mertabat rupa yang tersebut itu, hanya daripada-  
106 nya jua datang-nya dan dengan dia jua tetap-nya dan|  
kapada-nya jua kembali-nya.

Maka ʿarif yang kamil mukammal membawa nafi ithbat, erti-nya meniadakan dan menyabitkan, itu pun meniadakan segala rupa itu-lah jua, dan mengithbatkan dhat Allah taʿala pada kata-nya: Lā ilāha illā llāh, erti-nya: tiada wujud hanya Allah itu. Maka bahawa sa-nya yang diri itu hanya  
107 akan tempat nyata dhat Allah taʿala dan tempat|nyata segala sifat-nya jua, dari karena itu-lah di-nafikan; sa-telah nafi maka tinggal dan kekal dhat Allah taʿala yang mutlak,

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1) Kur. 42:11



erti-nya keadaan Allah ta'ala yang sa-jati-nya itu. <sup>Wah</sup> ~~W~~allah  
alam.



Tract 2 MS p. 98-107

This tract explains the meaning of the prophetic tradition: Who knows himself knows his Lord, and the tradition: Who knows himself best, knows his Lord best. The meaning of these two traditions is that anyone of God's servants who obtains the right path to Him (does so) by virtue of a perfect knowledge which has been passed down in succession from the Prophet Muḥammad to Shaikh-'Abdul-kādir Jilānī,<sup>1)</sup> and which is given by Almighty God to whoever He wishes to set upon the right path to perfect knowledge of God and his own self, for whoever acquires a perfect knowledge of himself will certainly have a perfect knowledge of Almighty God. The meaning of these two traditions of the Prophet is that the servant of God should seek knowledge of himself in order to perfect his knowledge of his Lord.

The meaning of self is this: it is the Fixed Essences subsisting in God's knowledge which subsists in His Essence: it is the World of Spirits, that is to say the spirits subsisting in the Fixed Essences; the World of Ideas, that is to say the spirits which are named the World of Ideas and which subsist in the World of Spirits, and the World of Bodies, that is to say dense bodies subsisting in the World of Ideas. The Fixed Essences,

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1) This makes it probable that the author belonged to the Kādiriyya order.



the World of Spirits, the World of Ideas and World of Bodies, all of them taken together are named the Self.

When you have understood perfectly the Self as explained above, then you will know God. The Fixed Essences have forms like those things which are exterior to the knowledge of God, and there is nothing existing outside which has not its prototype among them;<sup>1)</sup> the World of Spirits has the form of light and so has the World of Ideas, the latter has also a bodily form, but a body that is subtle (latîf), that is to say fine and delicate; it cannot suffer partition or be destroyed, neither can it disappear. The world of bodies on the other hand has the form that is seen by our physical vision; it is dense, it can suffer partition and be destroyed; it can disappear.

Whosoever of God's servants knows his self as described above will certainly have a perfect knowledge of his Lord, for his Lord has not the form of the Fixed Essences, nor of the World of Spirits, nor of the World of Ideas, nor of the World of Bodies, for the Essence of God: There is nothing like unto it, and how could God have any of these forms? But the Essence of God, like unto which there is nothing, is present in all of them, seeing that it is from Him alone that they proceed, through Him they

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1) Text not clear; presumed meaning.



subsist, and to Him they return.

The gnostics who have attained perfection make a negation and an affirmation: they deny all (visible) appearances and affirm the Essence of God in their saying: Lā ilāha illā'llāh that is to say, nothing exists except God. Truly the Self merely serves as the place where the Essence of God and His attributes are revealed, and that is why they make the negation. After the negation the absolute Essence of God remains and abides.



Tract III Ms. p. 108-119

- 108 Bab ini pada menyatakan peri (mengenal Allah dan mengenal diri seperti sabda rasul Allah s.a.w.: Man'arafa nafsahu fakad 'arafa rabbahu, erti-nya: Barang siapa mengenal diri-nya, maka sa-nya mengenal Tuhan-nya, karena wujud Tuhan-nya dengan wujud diri-nya ini esa jua. Maka erti sa-henar-benar
- 109 pengenal akan diri itu | di-kenal-nya ada-nya tatkala lagi dalam 'ilmu Allah itu, ya'ni bahawa di-kenal-nya diri-nya ma'lum Allah yang dalam 'ilmu-nya. Apabila di-kenal-nya diri-nya, bahawa ia ma'lum Allah itu, maka ma'lum Allah itu netiasa wasil dengan 'ilmu, dan 'ilmu Allah itu netiasa wasil dengan wujud Allah, neschaya di-perolēh-nya-lah nisbat
- 110 daripada Allah | dan di-kenal-nya-lah jalan ke-esaan-nya dengan Allah s.w.t. seperti firman Allah ta'ala: Wa fī anfusikum a fa lā tubsirūna,<sup>1)</sup> erti-nya: Dalam diri kamu jua, maka ngapa kamu tiada melihat dia. Kata Shaikh Hamzah:

Kenali diri-mu, hai anak jamu!  
 Jangan lupa akan diri kamu.  
 'Ilmu hakikat yogia kau-ramu,  
 Supaya terkenal 'ala ada-mu.<sup>2)</sup>

- 111 Ya'ni jika demikian, | hendak-lah bagi barang siapa menchari 'ilmu ma'rifat Allah [mengetahui bahawa] tetap-lah ia dalam sa-benar-benar diri-nya itu, dan kembali diri yang dzahir

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1) Kur. 51:21

2) Doorenbos diss. p.39 1.10-13, but the version quoted here seems better.



ini pun kapada sa-benar-benar diri yang batin itu jua.

Kata Shaikh Hamzah:

112                   Jika sunggoh kamu sakalian talibun  
                       Kapada 'kuntu kanzan' pergi raji'un  
                       Dengan hakikat diri yogia 'askikun  
                       Ini-lah ma'na salatihim da'imun. 1)

Maka barang siapa mengenal Allah dan mengenal diri-nya saperti yang tersebut ini, neschaya orang itu-lah yang berolēh 'ilmu ma'rifat Allah yang sempurna turun-terurun daripada nabi Muhammad Rasul Allah s.a.w. saperti yang tersebut itu. Wa'llah a'lam.

113           Bab pada menyatakan datang diri kita daripada Allah s.w.t. dan kembali-nya pun kapada-nya jua, saperti firman Allah ta'ala: Kul kullun min indī 'llāh.<sup>2)</sup> erti-nya: Katakan olēh-mu ya Muhammad, sakalian-nya daripada Allah jua. Dan firman Allah ta'ala: Yā ayyatuhā'l-nafsu 'l-mutma'innatu irji'ī ilā rabbiki.<sup>3)</sup> erti-nya: Hai nafsu mutma'inat, kembali engkau kapada Tuhan-mu. Ya'ni bahawa sa-nya hendak-lah kita ketahu' bahawa diri kita yang dzahir 114 ini pun, datang-nya daripada diri kita yang batin dalam 'ilmu Allah yang tiada bercherai dengan 'ilmu-nya itu jua, dan hendak-lah kita ketahu' bahawa diri kita yang dzahir ini

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1) Doorenbos diss. p.113 l.24-27.

2) Kur. 4:78

3) Kur 89:27-8



pun, kembali-nya kapada diri kata yang batin itu jua, tetapi, pada tahkik-nya datang pun tiada, kembali pun tiada. Ada pun yang di-kakatan datang itu daripada lēmpah wujud mahd jua kapada 'alam mumkinat ini, karena wujud mumkinat ini daripada madzhar Hakk s.w.t. pada kedua 'alam dzahir batin ini, karena bahawa sa-nya bagi segala 'alam mumkinat ini, tiada bagi-nya wujud, dan tiada berpenguasa. Maka yang 95 tiada bagi-nya wujud dan yang tiada berpenguasa itu, muhal ada-nya dapat berdiri sendiri-nya, karena bahawa sa-nya ia-itu sa-hingga berolēh sambutan jua Kata Shaikh Hamzah:

115 'Ilmu ini daripada sidang 'alamah  
 Dengan rupa diri lawan beramah:  
 Jalan ma'rifat Allah akan manah manah,  
 Barang siapa menghadap ustadh di-manakan salah?<sup>1)</sup>

Ada pun yang tersebut dalam hadith nabi Muhammad rasul Allah s.a.w.: Kāna 'llāhu wa lam ma'ahu shai'un,<sup>2)</sup> erti-nya: Telah ada Allah dan tiada ada suatu pun serta-nya. Dan lagi sabda rasul Allah s.a.w.: Huwa 'l-āna kamā kāna,<sup>3)</sup> erti-nya: 116 Dan ia-itu sekarang pun saperti ada-nya dahulu itu jua, ya'ni bahawa tiada ada wujud lain daripada wujud Allah. Maka segala wujud yang banyak yang nyata ini pun menyatakan wujud-nya yang esa itu jua, dan segala sifat yang banyak yang nyata ini pun menyatakan sifat-nya yang esa itu jua,

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1) Doorenbos p.92 1.21-24.

2) Not in Wensinck, but frequently quoted by Sūfī authors.

3) " " " " " " " "



dan segala fi<sup>l</sup>-nya yang banyak ini pun menyatakan fi<sup>l</sup>-nya  
 117 yang esa itu jua. Sa-nya kata Ruba<sup>i</sup>:

Raji<sup>mu</sup> sana jangan kau-selang  
 Itu-lah dikat jalan-mu pulang;  
 Ribu laksa jangan kau-bilang;  
 Esa jua yang tiada hilang.<sup>1)</sup>

Maka barang siapa mengetahui' perkataan yang tersebut  
 ini neschaya di-ketahui'-nya-lah datang-nya daripada Allah  
 dan kembali-nya pun kapada-nya, dan neschaya di-kenal-nya-lah  
 118 wujud diri-nya yang dzahir ini tiada lain daripada wujud  
 Allah yang tetap dengan dia sifat 'ilmu itu. Maka sifat  
 'ilmu-nya itu tetap dengan dia ma<sup>lum</sup>-nya yang di-dalam 'ilmu-  
 nya itu. Maka sifat-nya yang dzahir ini pun tiada lain  
 daripada sifat-nya yang batin itu, dan fi<sup>l</sup>-nya yang dzahir  
 ini pun tiada lain daripada fi<sup>l</sup>-nya yang batin itu, karena  
 119 yang dzahir ini pun menyatakan sifat-nya yang batin itu jua.  
 Jika demikian, bahawa-sa-nya sa-wujud-lah bagi-nya dan  
 sa-sifat-lah ia dan sa-fi<sup>l</sup>-lah ia dengan Allah s.w.t. Tuhan  
 yang maha besar kebesaran-nya, dan yang maha tinggi ketinggian-  
 nya itu. Wa<sup>llāh</sup> a<sup>lam</sup>.

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1) From Hamzah's Rawātib tanazzulat Bat. Ms. 7051 p.103  
 1.14; shortly to be published by Professor D.W.G. Drewes.



## Tract 3 MS 108-119

This tract deals with knowledge of God and knowledge of one's self, according to the tradition of the Prophet: Who knows himself knows his Lord, for a man's being is one and the same as that of His Lord. The true significance of knowledge of one's self lies in the recognition of it as still existing in the knowledge of God, that is to say as something known by Him in His knowledge. When you have realised this, and that what is known by God coheres with (wāṣil) His knowledge, and that His knowledge coheres with His being, you will certainly realize how you depend on Him (nisbat) and find out how you are one with Him. As the Kur'ān says: And also in your own selves: will ye not therefore consider? Which means: Why have you not seen Him within yourselves? And as Shaikh Hamzah said: Know yourself, Oh guest, and be not unaware of your own being; you should study the Science of esoteric knowledge and thus find out what it <sup>your being is</sup> ~~is.~~ <sup>you are</sup>

If this be so it is the duty of everyone who wishes to gain knowledge of God to know that it subsists in his real self, and that this visible self of his will return to his real self which is hidden. As Shaikh Hamzah says: If you are really seekers, retrace your steps to 'I was a hidden treasure', be enamoured of your innermost being, for that is the meaning of perpetual prayer.



Whoever knows God and knows himself as set down here will certainly obtain the perfect knowledge of God which has been handed down from the Prophet Muhammad.

This section explains our coming from God and our return to Him. As God said: Say everything is from God. And: Oh soul at peace, return to your Lord. In other words we must realise that our visible self comes from our self that is hidden within and never parts from the knowledge of God, and we must realise also that it will return to that hidden self, although when we understand the matter thoroughly we will realize there is neither coming nor returning. What is called coming is the overflow of being pure being to this world of possible existents (mumkināt) for possible being comes from God's manifestation of Himself (mazhar) in the two worlds, visible and invisible, since this world of possible existents has neither being nor power and it is absurd to say what has neither being nor power can be self-subsistent. In reality it is merely (contingent) being dependent (for its existence) on the Real Being of Almighty God.

Shaikh Hamzah says: This knowledge is of the learned, take counsel with yourself (and realise it for yourself): The path to knowledge of God is to be highly esteemed and one who takes a teacher will not come to grief.

It is said in the tradition of Muhammad the Apostle



of God: God was, and there was none with Him, and also: He is now as he was, that is to say there is no being other than that of God, for the many beings that are to be seen merely manifest His being which is the One (True Being) and the many various attributes merely manifest the Attributes of the One, and the many acts merely manifest the Acts of the One. As Ruba'i said: Do not delay in your journey thither, for that is the goal to which you return: pay no heed to hundreds and thousands, for it is only the One that is permanent.

Whoever understands this will realise that his coming is from God and that his return is also to Him, and that the being of his visible self is none other than that of God in whom the attribute of knowledge subsists, for in the attribute of knowledge subsists what is known (ma'lūm). Man's visible attributes are in fact none other than those attributes of God which are hidden, and his visible acts are none other than God's which are hidden, for the visible world manifests His hidden attributes. If this is so, then his being attributes and acts are one with those of Almighty God, the Great, The Exalted.



Tract IV Ms. pp.120-131.

- 120 Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmāni 'l-Rahīm — Dengan nama Allah  
jua aku memulai memacha perkataan yang dalam surat ini,  
Yang amat murah lagi yang amat mengsiani. Al-ḥamdu  
li 'llāhi ḥakka ḥamdihi - Segala puji-pujian bagi Allah  
dengan sa-benar puji akan dia; wa 'l-salātu wa 'l-salāmu  
'alā man lā nabiyya min ba'dihi - dan rahmat Allah dan  
121 salam nya atas nabi Allah yang tiada nabi kemudian-nya.  
Wa ba'du ada pun kemudian dari itu, maka ini menyatakan  
kenyataan tajalli, erti-nya nyata Hakk ta'ala pada  
mertabat wahdat, erti-nya punya esa, dan pada mertabat  
wahidiat, erti-nya yang esa. Maka apakala wujud yang  
mutlak yang bernama Hakk ta'ala, ya'ni ada yang  
sa-jati-nya yang bernama Hakk ta'ala itu menilek kapada  
122 ada diri-nya dengan shu'un dhat-nya, erti-nya laku keadaan-  
nya, maka ia-itu bernama wahdat, erti-nya punya esa.  
Dan apakala wujud yang mutlak yang bernama Hakk ta'ala  
itu menilek dapada ada diri-nya dengan asma'-nya, erti-  
nya dengan segala nama keadaan-nya, maka ia-itu bernama  
wahidiat, erti-nya yang esa. Maka mertabat wahidiat  
123 yang nyata banyak pada-nya itu menyatakan nyata yang esa  
pada wahdat itu jua.

Ada pun Hakk ta'ala menjadikan 'alam arwah dan 'alam  
mithal dan 'alam ajsam dan insan itu daripada hendak



menyatakan nyata-nya yang pada mertabat wahdat dan  
 menyatakan nyata-nya yang pada mertabat wahididiat itu  
 jua. Maka jika sa-sa-orang bertanya betapa peri-nya,  
 124 bahawa 'alam arwah dan 'alam mithal dan 'alam ajsam  
 dan 'alam insan itu, ada-kah pada mertabat wahdat dan  
 pada mertabat wahadiat itu, maka di-sahuti tanya yang  
 bertanya itu dengan kata yang tahkik: Bahawa 'alam  
 arwah dan 'alam mithal dan 'alam ajsam dan 'alam  
 insan itu sakalian-nya ada pada mertabat wahdat itu,  
 125 tetapi dengan ada yang mutlak, erti-nya dengan ada yang  
 sa-jati-nya: dan bahawa 'alam arwah dan 'alam mithal  
 dan 'alam ajsam dan 'alam insan itu, sakalian-nya ada  
 pada mertabat wahidiat itu tetapi dengan ada yang  
 mukayad, erti-nya dengan ada yang nyata bertambatan,  
 dengan nyata tambatan 'alam arwah dan tambatan 'alam mithal  
 126 dan tambatan 'alam ajsam dan tambatan 'alam insan. Ya'ni  
 ada sakalian-nya itu dengan ta'ayyun-nya daripada  
 ta'ayyun segala yang tersebut itu jua, tetapi ta'ayyun  
 yang tersebut itu pun hanya ta'ayyun 'ilmi jua, ya'ni  
 nyata 'ilmi jua, tiada nyata wujud, erti-nya tiada  
 nyata berwujud sendiri-nya.

Maka barang siapa berkata tiada ada 'alam arwah dan  
 127 'alam mithal dan 'alam ajsam dan 'alam insan itu pada  
 mertabat wahdat dan pada mertabat wahidiat, maka orang  
 itu pada 'ulama hakikat jadi kafir, karena lazim pada



*Kata -*

katuā nya itu baharu tahu Hakk ta'ala akan segala 'alam  
itu pada ketika jadi-nya. Dan barang siapa berkata ada  
128 'alam arwah dan 'alam mithal dan 'alam ajsam dan 'alam insan  
pada dua mertabat itu saperti ada keadaan-nya sekarang ini  
pada kelakuan cherai-nya dan <pada>persuatuan-nya dan pada  
kelakuan muhdath-nya dan fana'-nya maka orang itu pada  
'ulama hakikat jadi kafir karena lazim pada kata-nya itu  
Hakk ta'ala akan tempat muhdath dan fana'. Maka bahawa  
129 sa-nya tiada ada kata yang sa-benar-nya pada menyahuti  
tanya yang tersebut itu hanya bahawa 'alam arwah dan 'alam  
mithal dan 'alam ajsam dan 'alam insan itu, sakalian-nya  
ada pada mertabat wahdat itu, tetapi dengan ada yang mutlak,  
erti-nya ada yang sa-jati-nya, dan bahawa 'alam arwah dan  
130 'alam mithal dan 'alam ajsam dan 'alam insan itu, sakalian-nya  
ada pada mertabat wahidiat tetapi dengan ada yang mukayad,  
erti-nya dengan ada yang bertambatan dengan nyata tambatan  
'alam arwah dan 'alam mithal dan 'alam ajsam dan 'alam insan,  
ya'ni ada sakalian-nya itu dengan ta'ayyun-nya daripada  
segala yang tersebut itu. Maka ta'ayyun yang tersebut itu  
131 pun, hanya ta'ayyun 'ilmi jua, tiada ta'ayyun wujud, erti-nya  
~~131~~ nyata 'ilmi jua, tiada nyata ada-nya sendiri-nya; tetapi  
tiada muhdath dan tiada fana' dan tiada tanggal dan tiada  
cherai daripada 'ilmu Hakk ta'ala, Maka 'ilmu Hakk ta'ala  
tiada tanggal dan tiada cherai daripada Hakk ta'ala.  
Wa'llah a'lam.



Tract 4 MS p. 120-131

This tract deals with God's manifestation of Himself at the grades of Wahda and Wahidiyya

The act of the Pure Being which is named Almighty God, contemplating Itself with the Conditions of His Essence (shu'ūn dhāt) is termed Wahda and that of His contemplating Himself with His names, Wahidiyya. The grade of Wahidiyya at which the many are manifested, is a manifestation ~~for~~ those things which are revealed under the aspect of unity at the grade of Wahda.

God brought into being the World of Spirits, the World of Ideas, the World of Bodies and Man because He wished to manifest Himself at the grade of Wahda and at the grade of Wahidiyya. If then anyone asks you whether these four worlds exist at the grade of Wahda and that of Wahidiyya, and if so how! Reply to this question in a way which will express the matter thoroughly viz. the World of Spritis, the World of Ideas, the World of Bodies and the World of Man exist undetermined at the grade of Wahda (i.e. in general), but as determined at the grade of Wahidiyya (i.e. in particular), comprising four determinations i.e. the World of Spirits, the World of Ideas, the World of Bodies and the World of Man. It is by virtue of determinations that these exist, but the determinations belong to knowing, not to being, in other words they have



no being of their own.

Whoever says that these four worlds do not exist at the grades of Wahda and Wāhidiyya is an unbeliever according to the Ṣūfī Doctors, because that is tantamount to saying that God only became aware of the existence of these worlds at the moment they were brought into being. And whoever says that they exist at these two grades in the form in which they exist now, in a state of separation, individuality and temporal existence, subject to dissolution, is also an unbeliever according to them, for that is tantamount to saying that temporality and dissolution reside in God.<sup>1)</sup> There is no other true answer to a question of this kind than that the World of Spirits, the World of Ideas, the World of Bodies and the World of Man exist, all of them, undetermined at the grade of Wahda but as determined at the grade of Wāhidiyya, comprising these four determinations as mentioned above. But these determinations belong to knowing, not to being, in other words they have no being of their own.

Nevertheless these determinations are not temporal or subject to dissolution, neither do they fall away from, or are they ever out of the knowledge of God, which in its turn never falls away or is apart from God Himself.

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1) This was the classical argument of the 'philosophers' for the pre-eternity of the world. cp. al-Ghazālī: *Tahafut al-Falāsifa* ed. Bouyges p. 23.



Tract V. Ms. p.132-153

- 132 Bismillāhi'l-Rahmāni'l-Rahīm - Dengan nama Allah jua  
aku memulai memacha surat perkataan yang dalam surat ini,  
Yang amat murah dalam negeri dunia ini, lagi yang amat  
mengasiani hamba-nya mu<sup>2</sup> min dalam negeri akhirat itu.  
Al-hamdu li'llāhi ḥakka ḥamdihi - Segala puji-pujian bagi  
Allah dengan sa-benar puji-pujian-nya; wa'l-salātu  
133 wa'l-salāmu | ḥalā man lā nabiyya min baḥdihi; - dan rahmat  
Allah dan salam-nya atas nabi Allah yang tiada nabi kemudian-  
nya. Wa baḥdu ada pun kemudian dari itu maka ini suatu  
perkataan yang m<sup>e</sup>nyatakan mertabat ahadiat, erti-nya esa dan  
wahdat, erti-nya punya esa, dan wahidiat, erti-nya yang esa.  
134 Maka ahadiat itu terbahagi | kepada ahadiat sirfah, erti-nya  
yang pada mertabat la taḥayyun dan ahadiat jamḥa, yang pada  
mertabat wahdat, dan ahadiat kathrah yang pada mertabat  
wahidiat. Maka ahadiat sirfah itu mertabat la taḥayyun,  
dan ahadiat jamḥa itu mertabat taḥayyun awwal dan mertabat  
135 wahdat, dan ahadiat kathrah itu mertabat taḥayyun | thani dan  
mertabat wahidiat.

- Ada pun wahdat itu, ia-itu ḥibarat daripada ḥilmu Hakk  
taḥala akan dhat-nya dan akan segala sifat-nya dan akan  
sakalian yang maujud atas wajah yang berhimpun, daripada tiada  
perbedzaan sa-tengah-nya daripada sa-tengah-nya. Dan  
wahidiat itu, ia-itu ḥibarat daripada ḥilmu Hakk taḥala akan  
136 dhat-nya dan akan | segala sifat-nya dan akan sakalian yang  
maujud atas wajah bercherai<sup>2</sup> dan perbedzaan sa-tengah-nya



daripada sa-tengah-nya. Bermula ahadiat sirfah itu di-namai' ahlu' llah kunhi dhat, dan wahdat itu di-namai' merēka itu hakikat Muhammad s.a.w., dan wahidiat itu di-namai' merēka itu hakikat insan.

- 137 Maka mertabat | ahadiat itu terbahagi kepada tiga mertabat: pertama, mertabat ahadiat al-wujud, kedua mertabat ahadiat al-<sup>ʿ</sup>ain, ketiga mertabat ahadiat al-ta<sup>ʿ</sup>ayyun. Demikian lagi mertabat wahdat itu terbahagi kepada tiga mertabat: pertama, mertabat wahdat al-wujūd, kedua mertabat wahdat
- 138 al-<sup>ʿ</sup>ain, ketiga mertabat wahdat al-ta<sup>ʿ</sup>ayyun. Demikian lagi | mertabat wahidiat itu terbahagi kepada tiga mertabat: pertama mertabat wahidiat al-wujud, kedua mertabat wahidiat al<sup>ʿ</sup>ain, ketiga mertabat wahidiat al-ta<sup>ʿ</sup>ayyun. Maka mertabat ahadiat dan wahdat dan wahidiat yang terbahagi kepada tiga mertabat saperti yang tersebut itu, terbit nyata <sup>ʿ</sup>ibarat-nya dan
- 139 isharat-nya daripada | wahdat jua, tiada daripada mertabat la ta<sup>ʿ</sup>ayyun dan mertabat ahadiat sirfah itu. Demikian lagi mertabat <sup>ʿ</sup>ilmu <sup>ʿ</sup>alim ma<sup>ʿ</sup>lum itu, terbit ~~nya~~ ta<sup>ʿ</sup>ibarat-nya dan isharat-nya daripada wahdat jua. Demikian lagi mertabat <sup>ʿ</sup>ishk, <sup>ʿ</sup>ashik, ma<sup>ʿ</sup>shuk itu, terbit nyata <sup>ʿ</sup>ibarat-nya dan isharat-nya daripada wahdat jua.

- 140 Maka mertabat | ahadiat dan wahdat dan wahidiat itu menyatakan kenyataan kesempurnaan Hakk ta<sup>ʿ</sup>ala karena ketiga-nya itu mutlak jua, tiada nama ghair di-namakan kepada nama ahadiat dan wahdat dan wahidiat itu. Ada pun nama ghair itu pada <sup>ʿ</sup>ilmu <sup>ʿ</sup>alim ma<sup>ʿ</sup>lum jua. Sungguh pun



ada nama ghair kapada 'ilmu 'alim, ma'lum itu, belum lagi  
 141 sangat nyata kenyataan-nya, hanya tanazzul, ya'ni tanazzul  
 dzuhur adadiat kapada 'alim, dan tanuzzul wahidiat kapada  
 ma'lum dan tanazzul wahdat kapada 'ilmu jua. Ada pun yang  
 sangat nyata kenyataan ghair itu hanya kapada 'ishk, 'ashik,  
 ma'shuk karena tanazzul 'alim itu kapada 'ishk dan tanazzul  
 142 ma'lum itu kapada 'ashik dan tanazzul 'ilmu itu kapada ma'shuk.  
 Maka pada mertabat itu-lah sangat nyata ghair, karena 'ishk,  
 'ashik ma'shuk itu menyatakan tanazzul dan tarakki, tetapi  
 berbilang wujud tiada ada pada mertabat itu, hanya yang  
 wujud itu wujud yang esa jua karena tanazzul 'alim kapada  
 143 'ishk, maka yang 'ishk itu wujud mutlak; dan tanazzul ma'lum  
 itu kapada 'ashik, maka yang 'ashik itu a'yan thabitah dan  
 tanazzul 'ilmu itu kapada ma'shuk, maka yang ma'shuk itu  
 wujud 'am wujud idafi yang nyata pada mertabat ta'ayyun  
 144 thani dan wahidiat itu. Ada pun wahdat itu, ia-itu yang  
 pertama ta'ayyun yang nyata daripada hadrat la ta'ayyun,  
 145 maka nyata wahdat itu dengan jami' dan dengan fasil karena  
 wahdat itu dzahir wujud. Maka yang wujud itu hanya sa-nya  
 ada ia menghimpunkan itlak dan takyid, lagi mencheraikan  
 antara itlak dan takyid, lagi mengandung barang yang terbuni  
 dalam segala shu'un dan segala 'ibarat. Maka shu'un yang  
 terbuni dalam-nya itu dengan rachana ta'ayyun segala perkara  
 yang azali yang dalam 'ilmu azali yang tiada perbedzaan  
 bagi-nya itu, di-namai ia oleh ahlu'llah Huruf 'aliyat.




Maka shu'un yang terbuni dalam-nya itu dengan rachana ta'ayyun segala perkara yang azali yang dalam 'ilmu azali yang ada bagi-nya perbedzaan 'ilmi itu di-namai oleh ahlu 'Allah a'ayan thabitah.<sup>1)</sup>

- 146 Ada pun wahdat itu daripada pēhak ia dzahir | wujud di-kata ahlu 'Allah nyata-lah di-sana Huwa dan Allah, dengan dalil firman Allah ta'ala: Huwa 'llāhu'l-ladhī lā ilāha illā huwa,<sup>2)</sup> erti-nya: Ia itu Allah yang tiada Tuhan hanya Ia jua. Maka Huwa itu pada kata ahlu 'Allah tanazzul dzuhur Huwa itu kapada ismu 'Allah dan tarakki ismu 'Allah itu kapada Huwa, dengan dalil firman Allah ta'ala dalam
- 147 kuran: | Wa li kullin wijhatun huwa muwallīhā,<sup>3)</sup> erti-nya: Dan bagi sa-suatu ada hadapan, ia jua yang menghimpukan,<sup>4)</sup> (sic) dia; dengal dalil firman Allah ta'ala: Innanī ana 'llāhu lā ilāha illā ana,<sup>5)</sup> erti-nya: Bahawa sa-nya ia, Aku Allah, tiada Tuhan hanya Aku; dan dengan dalil hadith kudsi: [Yā] 'abdi, laisa fī'l-wujūdi illā ana, erti-nya:
- 148 Hai hamba-ku tiada dalam wujud | hanya aku jua. Tetapi nyata

1) This passage is a quotation from Shamsu l-Dīn's *Fauhar al-hakā'ik*. cp. Van Nieuwenhuize, diss. p.252 l.3-9

2) Kur. 28:70

3) Kur. 2:148

4) Ms. 

5) Kur 20:14 Ms. annahu



Hakk ta'ala pada segala perkara itu tiada seperti nyata  
 Hakk ta'ala pada insan, dengan dalil hadith kudsi: Mā  
zāhartu fī shai' in kazuhūrī fī'l-insān, erti-nya: Tiada  
 nyata Aku pada sa-suatu seperti nyata-ku pada insan; dan  
 149 dengan dalil hadith nabi Allah s.a.w.: Huwa 'llāhu'l-ladhī  
khalaka'l-ashya'a kullahā,<sup>1)</sup> erti-nya: Ia Allah yang  
 menjadikan segala perkara sakalian-nya; dan dengan dalil  
 kata Sharif (Aidarus,<sup>2)</sup> kadassa 'llahu sirrahu: Fa lā  
tafirra wa lā tarkan ilā talabin fa kullu shai' in tarahu,  
dhālika 'llāh, erti-nya: Maka jangan engkau lari daripada  
 150 segala tuntutanmu dan jangan engkau chenderong kapada sa-suatu  
 tuntutanmu maka segala sa-suatu yang kau-lihat itu, ia-itu  
 Allah. Maka Huwa itu pada mertabat wahdat Huwiat sariyat  
 kapada maujudat sakalian-nya, tiada Huwiat sirfah yang pada  
 mertabat la ta'ayyun dan mertabat ahadiat sirfah itu.

Ada pun ilmu itu di-upamakan ahlu 'llah upama chermin,  
 151 maka pada mertabat wahdat nyata dalam-nya dhat Allah ta'ala  
 dan segala sifat-nya dan segala yang maujud sakalian-nya  
 dengan nyata tafsili. Demikian lagi a'yan thabitah itu  
 di-upamakan ahlu 'llah upama chermin, karena nyata dalam-nya  
 segala perkara sakalian-nya.

Ada pun segala perkataan yang tersebut itu daripada

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1) Not in Wensinck, but there are similar traditions cp.  
 Vol. I p.71.

2) d.1628. Brockelmann G SII p.617



perkataan ahlu<sup>ʾ</sup>llah yang ada bagi-nya wijdani dan dhauki  
152 jua, | tiada akan salik yang tiada bagi-nya wijdani dan  
dhauki; dan daripada perkataan ahlu<sup>ʾ</sup>llah yang ada bagi-nya  
makam dan hal, tiada akan talib atau salik yang tiada  
bagi-nya makam dan hal; dan daripada perkataan ahlu<sup>ʾ</sup>llah  
yang ada bagi-nya lisan al-<sup>ḥ</sup>ibarat dan lisan al-isharat,  
153 tiada akan talib dan salik yang [tiada] ada bagi-nya lisan  
al-<sup>ḥ</sup>ibarat jua. Wa<sup>ʾ</sup>llah a<sup>ḥ</sup>lam. Tammam.



Tract 5 MS p. 132-153

This tract deals with the grades of Aḥadiyya, Wahda and Wāḥidiyya. Aḥadiyya is divided into Aḥadiyya ṣirfa, meaning that which is at the grade of non-determination, Aḥadiyya jam'a, meaning that which is at the grade of Wahda, and Aḥadiyya kathra, meaning that which is at the grade of Wāḥidiyya, so that in fact Aḥadiyya ṣirfa is another term for the grade of non-determination, Aḥadiyya jam'a for that of the first determination, and Aḥadiyya kathra for that of the second determination and Wāḥidiyya.

Wahda signifies God's knowledge of His Essences, attributes and all existents under an aspect of unity since (at that grade) they are undifferentiated one from another, whereas Wāḥidiyya signifies His knowledge of them under an aspect of plurality and distinction. The men of God name Aḥadiyya ṣirfa the Innermost Essence, Wahda the Reality that is (ḥakikat) Muḥammad, and Wāḥidiyya the Reality of Man.

The grade of Aḥadiyya is divided into three: Aḥadiyya al-wujūd (Uniqueness of being), Aḥadiyya al'ayn (uniqueness of person) and Aḥadiyya al ta'ayyun (uniqueness of determination). The grade of Wahda is similarly divided into three: Wahdat al-wujūd, Wahdat al-'ayn and Wahdat



al-ta'ayyun, and so is the grade of Wāhidiyya: Wāhidiyyat al-wujūd, Wāhidiyyat al'ayn and Wāhidiyyat al-ta'ayyun.<sup>1)</sup>

This triple distinction is derived first from Wahda, not from the grade of Aḥadiyya or non-determination, and likewise is that of 'ilm, 'ālim, ma'lūm, and 'ishk, 'āshik, ma'shūk.

These grades of Aḥadiyya, Wahda and Wāhidiyya manifest the perfection of Almighty God, for the three of them are absolute and otherness is not predicated of them. They are given a name denoting otherness when they are called 'ilm, 'ālim and ma'lūm, but although this is the case it is not clearly manifest, there is only a descent: Aḥadiyya descends manifesting itself in 'ālim, Wāhidiyya descends to ma'lūm and Wahda to 'ilm. Otherness is only fully manifest under the names 'ishk, 'āshik and ma'shūk, for 'ālim descends to 'ishk, ma'lūm to 'āshik and 'ilm to ma'shūk since 'ishk, 'āshik and ma'shūk display an ascent and a descent; but there is no multiplicity in being here for this being is one. 'Ālim descends to 'ishk, and 'ishk is pure being; ma'lūm descends to 'āshik and 'āshik is the Fixed Essences, and 'ilm descends to ma'shūk for ma'shūk is general being (wujūd'amm) and relative being (wujūd idāfī) which is manifested at the grade of the second determination and Wāhidiyya.

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1) The significance of these categories is conjectural.



Wahda is the first determination which results from the grade of non-determination, and may be characterised as unifying (jam'a) and dividing (fāsil) because it is a manifestation of Being, and Being combines absoluteness and determinacy and distinguishes them as well (thereby) comprising whatever is concealed in all Conditions and relations. These conditions which are contained in it as regards the determination of eternal things in the eternal knowledge, and are not differentiated one from the other the Men of God call the Hurūf'Aliyāt<sup>1)</sup>. On the other hand, as regards the eternal knowledge when involving a distinction (in idea) they are called the Fixed Essences.

From the standpoint of Wahda as a manifestation of Being the men of God say that Huwa and Allāh are manifested with it, according to the verse of the Qur'ān: He (Huwa) is God, there is no God but He. Moreover they say that Huwa descends manifesting itself under the name Allāh, and the name Allāh ascends to Huwa, according to the verse of the Qur'ān: And everyone has a direction to which he turns himself. And also: Truly, I am God, there is no other God than I. And according to the Hadīth Kudsī: Oh my servant, there is nothing in existence other than I. But God has manifested Himself in man more clearly than in anything else, as the Hadīth Kudsī says: I have

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1) A reference to a line of mystical poetry by ibn al-'Arabi where mankind before its manifestation is compared to letters within the mind of God.



not manifested myself in anything as I have manifested myself in man; and similarly: He (Huwa) is Allah Who has created all things. And according to the saying of Sharīf 'Aidarūs: Neither flee your quest, nor incline towards it for where ever you look, there is Allāh. But it is the Huwa at the grade of Wahda that pervades all existents, not the absolute Huwiyya which is at the grade of non-determination and Aḥadiyya.

Everything which has been stated here is taken from the works of theologians who have personal experiences of ecstasy and it is not intended for novices lacking this; moreover it has been taken from the works of the men of God who have been granted "Stations" and "States" and is not intended for novices and tyros without them; further it has been taken from the works of men of God who know how to express themselves and imply the inner significance of what they say, and it is not intended for seekers unable to do this.



Tract VI. Ms. pp. 154-161.

- 154 Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmāni 'l-Rahīm-Dengan nama Allah jua  
aku memul<sup>(1)</sup> memacha perkataan ini, Yang amat murah dalam  
negeri dunia ini lagi yang amat mengasiani hamba-nya  
mu'min dalam negeri akhirat itu. Al-ḥamdu li'llāhi ḥakka  
ḥamdihi - Segala puji-pujian bagi Allah dengan sa-benar  
puji-pujian-nya; wa'l-ṣalātu wa'l-salāmu 'alā man lā nabiyya  
155 min ba'dihi - dan | rahmat Allah dan salam-nya atas nabi Allah  
yang tiada nabi kemudian-nya. Wa ba'du ada pun kemudian  
dari itu, maka ini perkataan yang menyatakan 'ishk wa'ashik  
wa ma'shūk, erti-nya berahi, dan yang berahi, dan yang  
di-berahikan. Maka pada mertabat Allah s.w.t. hendak  
156 menyatakan diri-nya maka tajalli Ia dengan sifat 'ilmu  
maka kelihatan pada-nya pada me<sup>r</sup>rtabat itu yang menilēk,  
bernama 'ishk, dan yang di-tilēk, bernama 'ashik, dan  
tilēk, bernama ma' shuk. Pada mertabat itu ketiga-nya  
esa jua, dengan dalil kata Shaikh Ibrāhīm Hamdānī (1)  
kaddasa'llāh sirrahu: Ma' shūk wa 'ishk wa 'āshik har  
sihrā yak ast, (2) erti-nya: Yang di-berahikan, dan berahi  
157 dan yang | berahi ketiga-nya esa jua.

Ada pun 'ishk itu 'ibarat daripada dhat Allah ta'ala  
yang mutlak dan ma'shuk itu 'ibarat daripada wujud idafi,  
ia-itu segala ismu' llah ta'ala yang nyata pada mertabat

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(1) I am uncertain who this was.

(2) Cp. Doorenbos diss. p.131 for same quotation.



wahidiat itu; dan yang 'ashik itu 'ibarat daripada a'yan  
 158 thabitah pada mertabat wahidiat itu. Maka a'yan thabitah  
 di-namai 'ashik itu daripada ia tiada berwujud, maka berahi  
 ia akan wujud; dan wujud idafi itu di-namai ma'shuk karena  
 daripada-nya nyata rupa a'yan thabitah itu. Ada pun pada  
 mertabat azal itu, bahawa 'ashik itu a'yan thabitah dan  
 ma'shuk itu wujud idafi. Maka pada mertabat abad ini bahawa  
 159 'ashik itu insan kamil, dan ma'shuk itu wujud Allah ta'ala  
 yang mutlak yang nyata pada mertabat wahidiat dan pada  
 mertabat wahdat itu. Ada pun insan kamil 'ashik akan wujud  
 Allah yang mutlak itu daripada wujud Allah ta'ala yang mutlak  
 itu wujud-nya. Maka insan kamil 'ashik akan wujud-nya itu  
 160 dengan dalil hadith nabi Allah: Man 'arafa nafsahu fa kad  
'arafa rabbahu (1), erti nya: Barang siapa mengenal diri-nya,  
 ya'ni barang siapa mengenal wujud-nya, maka sa-nya ia  
 mengenal Tuhan-nya. Tetapi insan kamil itu, bahawa wujud  
 Allah ta'ala yang mutlak itu pun 'ashik akan dia daripada  
 bahawa ia tempat nyata-nya dan tempat kelihatan-nya dengan  
 161 dalil firman Allah ta'ala: Yuhibbuhum wa yuhibbūnahu, (2)  
 erti-nya: Di-kasēhi Allah ta'ala akan merēka itu daripada  
 merēka itu tempat nyata Allah ta'ala, dan di-kasēhi merēka  
 itu akan Allah ta'ala daripada Allah ta'ala itu wujud-nya.  
 Wa'llah a'lam.

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(1) cp. P. 119, foot note *ff. me.*

(2) Kur. 5.54.



Tract 6 MS p. 154-161

This tract is an explanation of the terms 'ishk (love) 'āshik (the lover) and ma'shūk (the loved). When God wished to reveal himself He manifested His attribute of knowledge at the grade of Wahda, at which may be distinguished a seer, which is called 'ishk, that which is seen, which is called 'āshik and the act of seeing which is called ma'shūk. At that grade these three are one and the same, as Shaikh Ibrāhīm Hamdānī said: That which is loved, love and the lover and all three one and the same.

Now 'ishk signifies the absolute essence of God, ma'shūk, relative being that is to say the names of God that are manifested at the grade of Wāhidiyya, and 'āshik the Fixed Essences at the grade of Wāhidiyya. The Fixed Essences are named 'āshik because they lack being, but long for it, and relative being is called ma'shūk, because the forms of the fixed essences are revealed through it, for in pre-eternity 'āshik (the lover) was the Fixed Essences and ma'shūk (the loved) was relative being (wujūd idāfī) whereas now (post-eternity) 'āshik (the lover) is the Perfect Man and ma'shūk (the loved) the absolute being of God manifested at the grades of Wahda and Wāhidiyya. The perfect man loves the absolute being of God because that being is his being, and he loves his own being also,



on account of the tradition of the Prophet: Who knows himself knows his Lord. Moreover the Absolute Being of God loves the Perfect Man for that is the place where He is visibly manifest, as the Kur'ān says: He loves them, and they love Him. In other words God loves them because He is manifested in them, and they love Him, because He is their being. God knoweth best.



Tract VII. Ms. p.162-187.

- 162 Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmāni 'l-Rahīm - Dengan nama Allah  
jua aku memulai memacha perkataan ini, yang amat murah  
yang amat mengasiani. Al-hamdu li'llāhi ḥakka ḥamdihi -  
Segala puji-pujian bagi Allah dengan sa-benar puji-nya;  
wa 'l-salātu wa 'l-salāmu 'alā man lā nabiyya min ba'dihi  
- dan rahmat Allah dan salam-nya atas nabi Allah yang  
163 tiada nabi kemudian-nya. Wa ba'du ada pun kemudian dari  
itu maka ini perkataan yang otak otak segala perkataan  
daripada segala perkataan pada 'ilmu hakikat yang menyatakan  
mertabat Ruh al-Kudus, erti-nya nyawa yang suchi, yang ia  
nyawa segala nyawa; dan yang menyatakan arwah, erti-nya  
segala nyawa; dan yang menyatakan kenyataan persuatuan dan  
164 ke-esaan segala mertabat wujud Allah ta'ala dengan segala  
'alam yang di-luar 'ilmu Allah ta'ala itu.

- Kata Shaikh Muhyi 'l-Dīn ibn al-<sup>1)</sup>Arabī, ḥaddasa 'llāhu  
sirrahu: Ayyuhā 'l-nāsu-hai manusia - atla'aka 'llāhu mā  
auda'ahu fika - di-perlihatkan Allah ta'ala kira-nya pada  
kita barang yang di-hantarkan-nya pada kita, ya'ni pada  
tuboh kita itu. Maka sa-yogia-nya bagi kita menilik pada  
165 diri kita supaya kita ketahu' dan kita lihat segala barang  
yang di-jadikan Allah ta'ala yang dalam-nya itu. Kata  
Shaikh Muhyi 'l-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī, ḥaddasa 'llāhu sirrahu,

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1) d.1240 cp.Brockelmann.G.I.p.441.



dalam kitab Lubāb al-Taṣawwuf<sup>1)</sup>, bahawa sa-nya apakala Allah  
 s.w.t. hendak menyatakan yang nyata-nya pada mertabat wahdat  
 166 dan hendak menyatakan yang nyata-nya pada mertabat wahidiat  
 itu, maka barbangkit nyata pada dhat Allah s.w.t. sifat  
 jalal. Kemudian dari itu maka nyata sifat jamal Allah s.w.t.  
 seperti kata Shaikh Najm al-Dīn<sup>2)</sup>, kaddasa 'llāhu sirrahu:  
Tasādamat sifatu 'l-jalāli 'l-jamāla fa-ghalabat sifatu  
 167 'l-jamāli, fa-tawallada minhuma 'l-Rūh, erti-nya: Telah  
 berdempok sifat jalal Allah ta'ala dengan sifat jamal Allah  
 ta'ala, maka keras sifat jamal Allah itu atas sifat jalal  
 Allah, maka terbit daripada kedua-nya suatu nyawa. Maka  
 nyawa itu-lah bernama Ruh al-Kudus<sup>3)</sup>. Maka upama yang  
 di-upamakan segala ahlu 'llah seperti upama berdempok batu  
 dengan besi, maka terbit daripada-nya api.

Ada pun akan Ruh Kudus banyak nama. Maka ia bernama  
 168 Rūh<sup>al-</sup>Kudus daripada ia di-suchikan Allah ta'ala daripada  
 segala kekurangan; dan ia bernama Rūh Allāh daripada ia  
 menyatakan kenyataan wujud Allah ta'ala, dan ia menyatakan  
 kenyataan hayat Allah ta'ala; dan ia bernama Rūh idāfi  
 daripada ia idafat kapada wujud Allah ta'ala dan kapada segala  
 makhlok; dan ia bernama Mir'ātu 'l-Ḥakki wa 'l-ḥakikat,  
 169 erti-nya chermin Hakk ta'ala dan chermin hakikat daripada

1) Not in Brockelmann.

2) d.1221. cp. Brockelmann G.S. I, p.786.

3) cp. Van Nieuwenhuize op.cit.p.248, p.18 for same quotation.



nyata pada-nya sa-benar Hakk ta'ala dan nyata pada-nya hakikat segala per<sup>k</sup>hara: dan ia bernama 'Arsh Allāh daripada ia tempat tajalli Allah ta'ala; dan ia bernama Jauhar Fard, erti-nya manikam yang tunggal, yang pada-nya nyata sifat Allah ta'ala dan nyata segala ismu 'llah ta'ala, 170 daripada bahawa ia tuboh yang menanggung nyata segala sifat Allah ta'ala dan nyata segala ismu 'llah ta'ala; dan ia bernama Markazu'l-dawa'ir, erti-nya kalian segala daerah, daripada nyata pada-nya terbit segala daerah wujud dan ta' 1) ayyun.

Maka Ruh al-kudus itu ta'rif-nya, erti-nya kita mengenal dia, bahawa ia suatu chahaya yang tiada bagi-nya bagi pada dhat-nya dan pada terang-nya dan pada nyata-nya dan tiada ia 171 berkaifiat, erti-nya betapa, dan tiada ia berkehendak kapada yang lain-nya, hanya kapada Allah ta'ala<sup>1</sup>jua.

Maka arwah itu, erti-nya segala nyawa itu, ta'rif-nya, erti-nya kita mengenal dia, bahawa ia chahaya yang ada bagi-nya, bagi pada dhat-nya dan pada terang-nya dan pada 2) nyata-nya dan ada bagi-nya berkaifiat, dan berkehendak ia 172 kapada Ruh al-Kudus pada menyampaikan dia kapada Allah ta'ala, karena Ruh al-Kudus itu asli, erti-nya pohon-nya.

Apakala Allah s.w.t. menjadikan Ruh al-Kudus maka firman Allah ta'ala kapda-nya itu: Anta ka-mir'ātin wa

1) Cp. Affifi op.cit. p.68. for list of titles of Logos.

2) Ms. tiada, but context clearly implies ada.



bika yunzaru<sup>1</sup> ila'l-maujudāt, erti-nya: Engkau-lah saperti  
 chermin, dan dengan dikau jua yang melihat kapada segala  
 173 yang maujud: Wa-fik<sup>a</sup> zaharati'l-asma'u wa'l-sifāt -  
 Dan pada-mu<sup>1</sup> jua telah nyata segala ismu-ku, dan segala  
 sifat-ku<sup>1</sup>. Sa-telah berapa lama-nya jadi Ruh al-Kudus itu,  
 maka di-jadikan Allah ta'ala arwah, erti-nya segala nyawa.  
 Maka jadi segala nyawa itu pun daripada Ruh al-Kudus itu jua.  
 Maka ada-lah Ruh al-Kudus itu pohon pada arwah, dan arwah  
 174 itu chawang pada Ruh al-Kudus, tetapi chawang yang tiada  
 cherai daripada pohon-nya dan yang tiada tanggal dari-pada-  
 nya. Saperti Ruh al-Kudus itu chawang pada mertabat  
 wahdat yang hakikat Muhammad s.a.w. dan mertabat wahdat itu  
 pohon pada-nya, tetapi pohon yang tiada bercherai daripada  
 chawang-nya dan yang tiada tanggal daripada-nya. Ada pun  
 175 mertabat 'alam arwah itu yang tertinggi mertabat-nya  
 daripada mertabat ruh, insan, erti-nya nyawa manusia.

Maka akan Ruh insan itu banyak nama. Maka nama-nya  
 Ruh Insan daripada pēhak dengan dia hidup insan, tetapi  
 hidup Ruh Insan itu dengan Ruh al-Kudus jua, karena ia  
 nyawa-nya; dan nama-nya kalb, erti-nya hati, daripada pēhak  
 176 dengan dia berbalēk<sup>2</sup> hati insan dan melihat hati insan,  
 tetapi hati insan itu upama suatu lembaga daripada chahaya  
 jua, maka Ruh al-Kudus itu-lah mata hati-nya; dan nama-nya

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1) cp. Van Nieuwenhuize op.cit. p.249. l. 5-7.



akal, erti-nya budi, daripada pēhak dengan dia ingat insan, tetapi yang menyempurnakan ingat insan dengan Ruh al-Kudus itu, jua, karena ia akal segala akal.

177 Sa-telah sempurna-lah pengenalan kita akan Ruh al-Kudus dan akan arwah, seperti yang tersebut itu, maka sa-yogia-nya bagi kita mengetahui dan mengenal tamthil, erti-nya upama, akan segala mertabat wujud Allah s.w.t. Ada pun akan mertabat wujud Allah s.w.t. itu tujuh mertabat. Maka mertabat yang pertama mertabat la ta'ayyun, erti-nya, yang  
178 tiada nyata nyata-nya dan ahadiat sirfah, erti-nya esa yang sa-mata; dan mertabat yang kedua mertabat ta'ayy<sup>u</sup>n awwal, erti-nya nyata yang pertama dan wahdat, erti-nya punya esa; dan mertabat yang ketiga mertabat ta'ayyun thani, erti-nya nyata yang kedua dan wahidiat, erti-nya yang esa.

Maka upama mertabat la ta'ayyun dan ahadiat sirfah  
179 itu dengan mertabat ta'ayyun awwal dan wahdat itu, maka bagi Allah ta'ala jua upama yang maha tinggi seperti upama suatu cahaya dengan terang-nya. Maka cahaya itu upama akan mertabat la ta'ayyun dan ahadiat sirfah, dan terang-nya itu upama akan mertabat ta'ayyun awwal dan wahdat, karena cahaya dengan terang-nya itu nama yang dua ada di-perolēh, tetapi  
180 yang cahaya itu dengan terang-nya, [wujud yang] dua tiada di-perolēh, dan tiada tanggal terang-nya itu daripada cahaya,

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1) Kur. 16.60: To God is due the loftiest similitude. Frequently quoted when a simile is applied to the things of God.



dan tiada cherai terang itu daripada chahaya.

Maka upama mertabat ta'ayyun awwal dan wahdat dengan mertabat ta'ayyun thani dan wahidiat itu - maka bagi Allah ta'ala jua upama yang maha tinggi - saperti upama chahaya

181 mata hari yang lēmpah chahaya-nya kapada bulan, karena chahaya bulan itu tiada chahaya diri-nya, hanya chahaya itu chahaya mata-hari jua nyata pada-nya, dan hanya yang bulan itu berolēh pinjaman jua daripada chahaya mata-hari, dari-karena itu-lah kita lihat terkadang ada bulan itu berchahaya dengan chahaya yang sempurna dan terkadang ada ia berchahaya

182 dengan chahaya yang kurang, dan terkadang tiada ia berchahaya itu. Dan upama mertabat ta'ayyun thani dan Wahidiat itu dengan mertabat 'alam arwah dan 'alam mithal dan 'alam ajsam dan 'alam insan itu-pun saperti upama chahaya mata-mari jua. Maka yang di-maksudkan dengan chahaya itu wujud Allah s.w.t. dan yang di-maksudkan dengan bulan itu 'alam arwah,

183 dan 'alam mithal dan 'alam ajsam dan 'alam insan, maka 'alam arwah, dan 'alam mithal, dan 'alam ajsam dan 'alam insan itu sēkalian-nya ta'ayyun jua. Maka ta'ayyun segala yang tersebut itu sakalian-nya tempat nyata wujud Allah s.w.t. jua, maka wujud segala ta'ayyun yang tersebut, sakalian-nya

184 pun wujud Allah s.w.t. jua. Dari karena itu-lah segala ahlu 'illah menafikan ta'ayyun segala yang berta'ayyun daripada segala makhlok sakalian-nya itu, dan mengithbatkan



wujud Allah s.w.t. yang esa yang hakiki yang mutlak, erti-nya yang sa-benar-nya yang sa-jati-nya itu pada kata merēka itu Lā ilāha illā 'llāh.

Maka barang siapa daripada hamba Allah mengetahui dan  
 185 mengenal dan mereksai dan mentasdikan segala perkataan  
 yang tersebut ini, neschaya di-peliharakan Allah ta'ala ia  
 daripada kelinchir segala salik, erti-nya yang berjalan  
 kapada Allah ta'ala, dan daripada kelinchir segala sufi,  
 erti-nya orang yang masoki jalan kapada Allah yang suchi,  
 dan daripada kelinchir segala muhakkik, erti-nya orang yang  
 berolēh jalan hakikat; dan neschaya di-sampaikan Allah  
 186 ta'ala ia kapada mertabat segala siddik, erti-nya segala  
 wali Allah yang berolēh karunia Allah yang sempurna dalam  
 akhirat itu, karena orang yang sempurna tauhid-nya dengan  
 tauhid hakikat itu perolēhan-nya pada Allah ta'ala pehala  
 pada tiap<sub>2</sub> nafas yang keluar masok itu, pehala sa-ribu orang  
 187 yang mati shahid yang pada gelanggang perang sabil Allah,  
 dengan dalil kata Sharif 'Aidarus, radiya'llahu 'anhu: Inna  
li'l-'ārifī bi-kulli nafas<sub>1</sub> in darajatan alfi shahīd, erti-nya:  
 Bahawa sa-nya bagi 'arif pada tiap suatu nafas-nya yang  
 keluar masok itu, mertabat sa-ribu pehala orang mati shahid  
 pada perang sabil Allah itu.<sup>1)</sup> Ahdainā 'llāhu ilā širāṭin  
mustakim - Di-tunjoki Allah ta'ala kira-nya kita kapada  
 jalan yang betul. Amin yā rabba 'l-'alamīn - Demikian-lah  
 kira-nya hai Tuhan sarwa 'alam sakalian.

1) cp. Van Niewenhuize op.cit. p.265.1.9. for same quotation.



Tract 7 MS p. 162-187

This tract is a digest on the teachings of the science of Reality on the rank of the Rūh al-Kudus, which is the spirit of all Spirits; on the Spirits, and on the individuality and unity of all the grades of God's being, and the worlds exterior to His knowledge.

Shaikh Muḥyī<sup>2</sup>l-Dīn ibn al-<sup>s</sup>Arabī says: Oh mankind, may God show you what He has placed within you, that is to say within our bodies. We should consider ourselves so that we may know and see what God has placed within them. In His book the Quintessence of Sūfism he says that when God wished to manifest Himself at the grades of Wahda and Wahidiyya there became manifest within the Essence His attribute of Majesty followed by that of His Beauty; then, as Shaikh Najm al-Dīn said, these two attributes clashed, and the attribute of **B**eauty overcame that of Majesty and a spirit came forth from the two of them: this spirit is called the Rūh al-Kudus. The men of God liken this to the striking of stone against iron to produce a spark of fire.

This Rūh al-Kudus has many names. It is called the Pure Spirit (Rūh<sup>al-</sup>kudus) because it has been purified by Almighty God from all deficiencies; it is called The Spirit of God (Rūh Allāh) because it manifests His Being and Life;



it is called the Spirit of relationship (Rūh Idāfī) because it is the relation between the being of God and all creation; it is called the Mirror of Reality and Truth (Mir'at al-Hakḳ wa'l-Hakīka) because the Inner Reality of God and of all things are reflected in it; it is called the Throne of God (ʿArsh Allāh) because it is the place where Almighty God is revealed; it is called the Simple Substance (Jauhar fard) in which God's attributes and names are displayed, since it is the body which supports them; it is also known as the Centre of the circles (markaz al-dawā'ir) because the circles of being and determination commence from a manifestation in it.

The Rūh al-Ḳudus is recognised by the fact that it is a light that has nothing like to its essence, or to its illumination or manifestation. It is without modality and tends to nothing other than itself except God. All other spirits are recognised by the fact that they are lights which have something like to their essence, to their illumination and to their manifestation. They have modality, and tend towards the Rūh al-Ḳudus to bring them near to God, for the Rūh al-Ḳudus is their source.

When God created the Rūh al-Ḳudus he said to It: Thou art a mirror and by means of thee shall a person behold existing things, and in thee shall be manifested my names and attributes.<sup>1)</sup> Then, after the creation of

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1) cp. Chapter 1 p.36 et seq. Also Goldziher op.cit.p.319



the Rūh al-Kudus God created all spirits or souls, forming them all from it. The Rūh al-Kudus is like a stem to the spirits and the spirits like branches to it, but branches which never part from the stem or fall away. Similarly the Rūh al-Kudus is like a branch to the grade of Wahda which is the reality that is Muḥammad, and the grade of Wahda is like a stem to it, but a stem which does not separate or fall away from its branches. The grade of the World of Spirits is much higher than that of the Spirits of men.

The spirit of man has many names. It is called the Spirit of Man (Rūh Insān) from the standpoint of its giving life to man; nevertheless the Soul of Man lives by the Rūh al-Kudus, for that is its life; it is called the Heart (kalb) for it is by means of it that the heart of man can turn about and see, for the heart of man is like a mould of light, and the Rūh al-Kudus is the eye of the heart; it is also called The Intellect ('akl) from the fact that by it man thinks; nevertheless it is the Rūh al-Kudus which perfects the intellect of man, for it is the intellect of all intellects.

Now that we know what the Rūh al-Kudus and all the spirits that have been mentioned above are, we should understand a simile in regard to God's being, which has seven grades. The first is that of non-determination and



Ahadiyya sirfa, the second that of the first determination and Wahda, and the third is that of the second determination and Wahidiyya.

The relationship of non-determination and Ahadiyya to the first determination and Wahda - and to God is due the loftiest similitude - is that expressed in a simile drawn from light and its brightness. Light represents the grade of non-determination and Ahadiyya sirfa, and its brightness that of the first determination and Wahda, for although light and brightness are two names, light and brightness themselves are not two entities; brightness does not fall away or become separate from light.

The relationship of the first determination and Wahda to the second determination and Wahidiyya - and to God is due the loftiest similitude - is that expressed in a simile drawn from the light of the sun poured out upon the moon; for the light of the latter is not its own light but the light of the sun reflected on it, and from which it has only borrowed it. For this reason sometimes we see the moon with a perfect light, sometimes with a diminished light, and sometimes with no light at all. And the relationship of the grade of the second determination and Wahidiyya to the World of Spirits, the World of Ideas, the World of Bodies and the ~~W~~orld of ~~m~~an is similarly expressed in terms of this simile drawn from the light of



the sun, for by light is meant the being of God, and by the moon the World of Spirits, the World of Ideas, the World of Bodies and World of Man, all of which are determinations in each of which it is only the Being of God that becomes manifest, so that the being of all these manifestations is that of God. For this reason the men of God deny the determination of things belonging to creation and affirm the Being of God which is One, Real and Absolute in their saying - Lā 'ilāha illā'llāh.

Whosoever of God's servants understands, recognises, examines and accepts as true everything which has been said, God will certainly safeguard from the mishaps liable to novices - who seek the path to God-, beginners - who are on the road to Him -, and initiates - who have attained the stage of inner reality - bringing him to the lofty grade of the faithful ones (siddik), viz., the saints of God who have obtained the perfect blessing of God in the world to come. Indeed, those who make a true and perfect declaration of the unity, as Sharīf 'Aidarūs has said, will receive from Him the merit of a thousand who have died as martyrs in the Holy War with every breath they take. May God lead us on the right path. So may it be, Oh Lord of the Worlds.



Tract VIII. Ms. p. 188-206.

- 188 Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmāni 'l-Rahīm - Dengan nama Allah <sup>dua</sup> aku memulaí memacha kitab ini, Yang amat murah dalam negeri dunia ini, lagi yang amat mengasiani hamba-nya mu'min dalam negeri akhirat itu. Al-ḥamdu li'llāhi ḥakka ḥamdihi - Segala puji-pujian bagi Allah dengan sa-benar puji-pujian-nya; wa'l-salātu wa'l-salāmu 'alā man lā nabiyya min ba'dihi -  
 189 dan rahmat Allah dan salam-nya atas nabi Allah yang tiada nabi kemudian-nya. Wa ba'du ada pun kemudian dari itu maka ini suatu perkataan yang menyatakan i'tikad segala ahlu 'llah pada 'anasir hakikat insan, ya'ni pada asal nyata hakikat insan pada mertabat wahidiat dan pada asal jadi nyawa insan pada mertabat 'alam arwah, dan peri menyatakan i'tikad segala ahlu 'llah pada 'anasir jism insan yang dzahir  
 190 ini, dan peri menyatakan 'amal segala ahlu 'llah pada # dhikr merēka itu dan murakabah merēka itu dan tawajjuh merēka itu dan mushahadah merēka itu dengan kalimah: Lā ilāha illā 'llāh itu.

- Ada pun 'anasir hakikat insan, erti-nya asal nyata hakikat insan yang pada mertabat wahidiat yang di-namai' ahlu 'llah a'yan thabitah itu, empat perkara: pertama wujud  
 191 nama-nya, kedua 'ilmu nama-nya, ketiga nur nama-nya, ke-empat shuhud nama-nya. Maka yang di-maksudkan dengan wujud yang 'anasir hakikat insan yang bernama a'yan thabitah itu, dhat



Allah ta'ala; dan yang di-maksudkan dengan 'ilmu yang  
 'anasir-nya pada mertabat itu segala sifat Allah ta'ala;  
 dan yang di-maksudkan dengan nur yang 'anasir-nya pada  
 192 mertabat itu, segala asma' Allah ta'ala; dan yang di-maksudkan  
 dengan shuhud yang 'anasir-nya pada mertabat itu segala (sifat)  
 af'al Allah ta'ala, ya'ni nyata hakikat insan pada mertabat  
 itu daripada dhat Allah ta'ala, dan daripada segala sifat  
 Allah ta'ala dan daripada segala asma' Allah ta'ala dan  
 daripada segala af'al Allah ta'ala. Shahadan tiada hakikat  
 193 insan pada mertabat itu cherai dan tanggal daripada dhat  
 Allah ta'ala dan daripada segala sifat Allah ta'ala, dan  
 daripada segala asma' Allah ta'ala dan daripada segala af'al  
 Allah ta'ala itu, sakelamaan-nya daripada azal datang  
 kapada-abad. Maka dengan 'ibarat dan isharat ini-lah kata  
 ahlu 'illah bahawa wujud hakikat insan pada mertabat hakikat  
 194 itu wujud Allah ta'ala jua dengan karena segala sifat  
 Allah ta'ala dan segala asma' Allah ta'ala dan segala af'al  
 Allah ta'ala itu kesempurnaan dhat Allah ta'ala jua.

Sa-telah di-ketahuf dan di-kenal 'anasir insan pada  
 mertabat hakikat insan saperti yang tersebut itu, maka  
 sa-yogia-nya di-ketahuf dan di-kenal 'anasir jism insan,  
 195 erti-nya tuboh insan yang tebal ini. Ada pun 'anasir  
 tuboh insan pada mertabat 'alam shahadat ini, erti-nya  
 'alam terpandang mata kepala ini, empat perkara jma:  
 pertama bumi, kedua ayēr, ketiga hawa, ke-empat api.



Shahadan perangai bumi dan ayēr dan hawa dan api itu tiada cherai dan tiada tanggal daripada tuboh insan itu. Maka

196 bumi itu, wujud-nya wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama Hakīm, erti-nya yang amat tahu pada hikmat; dan ayēr itu, wujud-nya wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama Muhyī erti-nya yang mengidupkan; dan hawa itu, wujud-nya wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama Kawī, erti-nya yang amat keras; dan api itu,

197 wujud-nya wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama Azim<sup>1)</sup>, erti-nya yang amat besar. Shahadan bumi dan ayēr dan hawa dan api dan segala yang ber'anasir kapada-nya itu, ya'ni segala tuboh yang tebal, sekarang ini pun, tiada cherai dan tiada tanggal daripada wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama Hakīm dan yang bernama Muhyī dan yang bernama Kawī dan yang bernama

198 Azim itu sa-kelamaan-nya daripada azal datang kapada abad. Sa-tālāh di-ketahuī dan di-kenal 'anasir tuboh insan dan wujud-nya itu, maka sa-yogia-nya di-ketahuī dan di-kenal wujud Ruh al-Kudus yang ruh al-arwah itu, dan wujud segala 'alam [arwah dan wujud segala 'alam] mithal itu dan wujud segala 'alam ajsam ini dan wujud yang bernama insan. Ada

199 pun wujud Ruh al-Kudus itu wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama Badi', erti-nya menjadikan segala indah<sub>2</sub>; dan wujud segala 'alam arwah itu wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama Qūr, erti-nya yang nyata yang menyatakan diri-nya dan yang lain-nya; dan wujud segala 'alam mithal itu wujud Allah ta'ala yang

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1) cp. Van Nieuwenhuize op.cit p.258 1.9-15.



~~bernama~~ Muṣawwir, erti-nya yang merupakan segala rupa; dan  
 200 wujud segala 'alam ajsam itu, erti-nya segala 'alam yang  
 bertuboh yang tebal ini wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama  
Zāhir, erti-nya yang nyata pada mata kepala ini; dan wujud  
 yang bernama insan itu wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama  
Jāmi', erti-nya yang menghimpunkan segala cherai berai.  
 Shahadan bahawa Ruh al-Kudus yang ruh al-arwah, dan 'alam  
 201 arwah dan 'alam mithal dan 'alam ajsam dan yang bernama  
 insan itu, sakalian-nya tiada cherai dan tiada tanggal  
 daripada wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama Badi' dan wujud  
 Allah ta'ala yang bernama Qūr, dan wujud Allah ta'ala yang  
 bernama Muṣawwir, dan wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama  
 202 Zāhir, dan wujud Allah ta'ala yang bernama Jāmi' itu,  
 202 sakelamaan-nya daripada azal datang kapada<sup>1)</sup> abad.

Tetapi hendak-lah di-ketahui dan di-kenal segala ahlu  
 'illah bahawa segala nama dhat Allah dan wujud Allah yang  
 tersebut itu, perhimpunan-nya dan persatuan-nya kapada  
 nama dhat Allah yang bernama Allah itu, supaya di-ketahui  
 dan di-kenal akan kesempurnaan tauhid pada kalimah: Lā  
ilāha illā 'llāh itu. Bahawa sa-nya segala nama Allah  
 203 ta'ala yang tersebut itu, terbit-nya dan nyata-nya daripada  
 nama Allah, dan tetap-nya dengan nama Allah dan kembali-nya  
 kapada nama Allah, dengan karena itu-lah segala ahlu 'illah

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L) cp. Khaja Khan: Studies in Taṣawwuf, p.44, where the author gives a table of "creator" names; but the correspondences are not exact. cp. also The Mystical philosophy of Muhyiddīn ibn al-ʿArabī by Affifi p.33.



membawa tauhid akan Allah ta<sup>ʿ</sup>ala dengan kalimah Lā ilāha illā ʾillāh itu dengan karena yang tersebut dalam kalimah itu nama wujud itu Allah, tiada tersebut nama yang lain daripada-nya.

- 204 Sa-telah di-ketahu<sup>i</sup> dan di-kenal wujud segala perkara yang tersebut itu, saperti yang tersebut pada perkataan ini, maka sa-yogia-nya di-ketahu<sup>i</sup> dan di-kenal dan di-i<sup>ʿ</sup>tikadkan dan di-<sup>ʿ</sup>amalkan apa erti Lā ilāha illā ʾillāh itu dengan bahasa <sup>ʿ</sup>Arabi, dan apa erti-nya dengan bahasa Parasi, dan apa erti-nya dengan bahasa orang Pasai. Ada pun erti kalimah
- 205 tauhid: Lā ilāha illā ʾillāh pada bahasa <sup>ʿ</sup>Arabi: Lā anniyyata lī illā ʾillāh, erti-nya: Tiada wujud<sup>-ku</sup> hanya Allah; dan erti-nya dengan Parasi: Nīst hastī man magar Allāh, erti-nya: Tiada wujud-ku hanya Allah; dan erti-nya pada bahasa orang Pasai saperti yang tersebut pada erti bahasa <sup>ʿ</sup>Arabi dan yang tersebut pada bahasa Parasi itu: Tiada
- 206 wujud-ku hanya Allah. Maka hasil segala erti yang tersebut itu dan maksud segala yang tersebut itu mentauhidhan dhat Allah ta<sup>ʿ</sup>ala dengan segala kesempurnaan-nya, lagi menyatakan kenyataan kebesaran-nya dan kemuliaan-nya dalam ke-esaan-nya itu pada mertabat batin hakikat. Waʾllah a<sup>ʿ</sup>lam. Tammāt.



Tract 8. MS p. 188-206

This tract is an explanation of the belief of the Ṣūfī doctors in regard to the elements of the Reality of Man at the grade of Wāhidiyya and the origin of his Spirit at that of the World of Spirits. It also explains their belief in regard to the elements of his visible body, and recounts how they practice recitation (Dhikr) observation (Murākabah) concentration (Tawajjuh) and contemplation (mushāhadah) by means of the phrase: Lā ilāha illā'allāh.

The elements of the Reality of man, which is at the grade of Wāhidiyya and which the Ṣūfī doctors call the Fixed Essences, are four. The name of the first is Being (Wujūd) the second Knowledge ('ilm) the third Light (Nūr) and the fourth Vision (Shuhūd). By Being is meant God's Essence; by Knowledge, His attributes; by Light, His names, and by Vision, His acts. In other words at that grade the Reality of Man is manifested through the Essence, Attributes, Names and Acts of Almighty God and is never separate or out of them from and to all Eternity. It is by means of these expressions and what they imply that the Ṣūfī doctors state that the being of Man at the grade of Reality (Hakika) is none other than that of Almighty God, since His Attributes names and acts constitute the perfection of His Essence.



When you have understood the elements of man at the grade of his Reality, you should understand those of his physical body at the grade of the visible world, and they are four also: the first is Earth, the second Water, the third Air and the fourth Fire, and the innate character of these four does not separate or part from the body of man. For the being of Earth is the being of God under the name The Wise (Hakīm); the being of water His being under the name The Giver of Life (Muhyī); the being of air His being under the name The Strong (Kawī); and the being of fire His being under the name of The Great (Azīm). Earth, Water, Air and Fire and everything that is compounded from them, that is to say this visible world, is never separate or out of the being of God under His names of The Wise, The Giver of Life, The Strong and The Great from and to all Eternity.

When you have understood the elements and being of man, then you should understand the being of the Rūh al-Kudus which is the Spirit of Spirits, likewise that of the World of Spirits, the World of Ideas, this World of Bodies, and the being that is called Man.

The being of the Rūh al-Kudus is the being of God under the name of The Creator (Badī); the being of the Worlds of **S**pirits His being under the name Light (Nūr) which manifests Him and what is other than He; the being



of the Worlds of ~~Heas~~ is His Being under the name the Giver of Forms (Muṣawwir); the being of the worlds of Bodies his Being under the name The Manifest (Zāhir); and the being that is called man is His Being under the name ~~The~~ Gatherer (Jāmi). The Rūḥ al-Kudus, which is the Spirit of Spirits, the World of Spirits, the World of Ideas, the World of Bodies and that which is called man, are, none of them, separate or apart from the being of God under the names of The Wonderful, Light, The Giver of Forms, The Manifest and The Gatherer from and to all Eternity.

Nevertheless the men of God should know that the names of God's Essence and Being are all combined and unified in the name of His Essence which is Allāh so that the most perfect declaration of unity might be understood from the words Lā ilāha illā'llāh. Truly, all the names of God mentioned above take their source and manifestations from that name; they subsist through it and return to it. That is why the Ṣūfī doctors make their profession of the Unity with the saying: Lā ilāha illā'llāh, for Allāh is proclaimed to be the name of all existents, and no other is mentioned.

When you have understood and recognised the being of the entities that have been mentioned, then you should understand, recognize, believe and put into practice the



meaning of: Lā ilaha illā'llāh, in Arabic, Persian and the language of the people of Pasai. In Arabic this profession of the Unity means: I have no existence other than that of Allāh; in Persian, and in the language of the people of Pasai it has the same meaning. The conclusion from all this, and the intention of all that has been said is to declare the Unity of the Essence of God, and to explain His greatness and loftiness in that Unity at the grade of the deepest reality of things.



Tract IX Ms. p. 208-221

- 208            Bismillāhi 'l-Raḥmāni 'l-Raḥīm. Al-ḥamdu li  
'llāhi waḥdahu; wa 'l-ṣalātu wa 'l-salāmu 'alā man lā  
nabiyya ba'dahu.    Wa ba'du ada pun kemudian dari itu, maka  
bahawa sa-nya berkata Hujjat al-Islam Ghazali,<sup>1)</sup> kaddasa  
'Allah sirrahu dalam kitab Mishkāṭ al-Anwār bahawa sa-nya  
tiada pada wujud mungkin al-wujud ini terlebēh indah  
209 daripada 'alam ini, dan tiada terlebēh perhias-nya daripada  
'alam ini, dan tiada terlebēh sempurna kejadian-nya daripada  
'alam ini, tetapi insan itu terlebēh pula dari-pada segala  
'alam sakalian-nya.<sup>2)</sup> Maka dari karena itu-lah sa-tengah  
daripada 'arif rabbani berkata fard dan wajib atas 'arif  
mengetahui' daripada pēhak yang mana sama insan dengan 'alam,  
210 dan daripada pēhak yang mana lebēh insan daripada 'alam  
sakalian. Ada pun yang sama insan dengan 'alam ini daripada  
pēhak ada pada 'alam 'alam mulk, dan ada pada 'alam 'alam  
malakut, dan ada pada 'alam 'alam jabarut. Maka yang  
bernama 'alam mulk, pada 'alam itu segala barang yang  
terlihat mata kepala, dan yang terdengar telinga dan yang  
terasa perasa tuboh. Maka ia-itu-lah bernama 'alam mulk.  
211 Maka yang bernama 'alam malakut pada 'alam itu segala  
barang yang tiada terlihat mata kepala, dan tiada terdengar  
telinga dan tiada terasa perasa tuboh. Maka ia-itu-lah  
yang bernama 'alam malakut pada 'alam. Ada pun telah

1) d. llll cp. Brockelmann G.I. p. 420.

2) He does not say this in the Mishkāṭ al-Anwār.



berlaku hikmat Allah pada menyatakan sa-suatu yang nyata  
 pada 'alam mulk ini, hanya nyata dahulu pada 'alam malakut  
 212 itu. Sa-telah itu maka turun nyata-nya | kepada 'alam mulk  
 ini. Maka yang bernama 'alam jabarut itu pada 'alam  
 segala ismu 'Allah yang tajalli yang menghimpunkan antara  
 'alam mulk dan 'alam malakut itu.

Ada pun yang bernama 'alam mulk pada insan itu segala  
 barang yang terlihat mata kepala dan terdengar telinga dan  
 terasa pada perasa tuboh, saperti daging dan tulang dan  
 213 darah dan | yang lain-nya. Maka ia-itu-lah bernama 'alam  
 mulk pada insan. Ada pun yang bernama 'alam malakut pada  
 insan, segala barang yang tiada terlihat mata kepala dan  
 tiada terdengar telinga dan tiada terasa pada perasa tuboh  
 saperti 'akal dan 'ilmu dan segala sifat dhat-nya saperti  
 214 hayat dan 'ilmu dan iradat dan kudrat dan sam'a | dan basar  
 dan kalam. Maka itu-lah yang bernama 'alam malakut pada  
 insan. Ada pun telah berlaku hikmat Allah pada menyatakan  
 sa-suatu yang nyata pada 'alam mulk yang pada insan, hanya  
 nyata dahulu pada 'alam malakut yang pada insan itu jua,  
 sa-telah itu maka turun nyata-nya pada 'alam mulk yang  
 pada insan. Shahadan telah ada yang 'alam malakut<sup>1)</sup> pada  
 215 insan | upama isi dan telah ada yang 'alam mulk pada-nya itu  
 upama kulit. Ada pun yang bernama 'alam jabarut pada insan  
 segala pancha indra yang dzahir saperti penglihat dan  
 penengar dan perasa dan penchium dan penjawat. Maka itu-  
 lah yang bernama 'alam jabarut pada insan.

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1) Ms - maklūt.



Maka segala yang tersebut sakalian-nya itu telah  
 216 ada pada 'alam dan telah ada pada insan. Maka daripada  
 pēhak ini-lah di-kata yang berkata sama 'alam dengan insan.  
 Ada pun yang lebēh insan daripada segala 'alam sakalian  
 dari-pada pēhak ia menanggung amanat Allah,<sup>1)</sup> ia-itu  
 tajalli dhat Allah ta'ala pada insan, dan tajalli sifat  
 Allah ta'ala pada-nya, dan tajalli af'al Allah pada-nya  
 217 dengan sempurna tajalli-nya, hanya tiada tajalli Allah  
 ta'ala kapada insan dengan dua sifat jua, suatu sifat wajib  
 al-wujud, kedua sifat ghina mutlak. Maka hikmat Allah  
 ta'ala tiada tajalli kapada insan dengan dua sifat ini pun  
 daripada Allah ta'ala menyatakan kesempurnaan Allah ta'ala,  
 dan kesempurnaan insan jua, ya'ni daripada Allah ta'ala,  
 218 hendak menyatakan kesempurnaan tauhid insan akan Allah  
 ta'ala. Dan kata Shaikh Muhyi 'l-Din ibn al-'Arabi, kaddasa  
 'llahu sirrahu, dalam kitab, Lubāb al-Taṣawwuf bahawa  
 sa-nya fard dan wajib atas 'arif mengetahui mertabat  
ilāhiyyat Hakk ta'ala, dan mertabat rubūbiyyat-nya supaya  
 sempurna ma'rifat-nya akan Allah ta'ala. Ada pun mertabat  
 219 rububiyat itu mertabat tajalli tiap<sup>2</sup> sa-suatu daripada  
 sifat dhat seperti nama Hakk ta'ala Ḥayy dan 'Alim dan  
Murīd dan Qādir dan Samī' dan Baṣīr dan Mutakillim. Maka  
 nama Hakk ta'ala 'Alim itu menghendaki ma'lūmāt-nya; dan

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1) An echo of Qur. 33:72.: We offered the trust (amānat)  
 unto the heavens and the earth and the hills, but  
 they shrank from bearing it and were afraid of it.  
 And man assumed it.



220 Murīd itu menghendaki murādāt-nya, dan Kādir itu  
 menghendaki makdūrāt-nya dan Samīʿ itu menghendaki  
masmūʿāt-nya dan Baṣīr itu menghendaki mabṣūrāt-nya dan  
Mutakallim itu menghendaki mutakallamāt-nya. Maka tiap<sup>2</sup>  
 sa-suatu nama berolēh jalan ʿarif kapada Allah taʿala  
 daripada athar itu kapada muʿaththir-nya. Maka itu-lah  
 bernama mertabat rubūbiyyat. Ada pun mertabat ilāhiyyat  
 itu mertabat tajalli dhat Hakk taʿala dengan nama-nya Allah.  
 Maka nama Allah itu bagi Allah taʿala menghimpunkan dan  
 221 meliputi segala nama yang lain seperti Ḥayy dan ʿAlim dan  
Murīd dan Kādir dan Samīʿ dan Baṣīr dan Mutakallim. Maka  
 daripada pēhak itu-lah kata ʿarif persatuan dan ke-esaan  
 nama Allah S.W.T. dengan segala nama yang lain itu, dan  
 dari karena itu-lah segala ʿarif biʾllah itu tiada membawa  
 dhikr hanya dengan nama Allah jua. Waʾllah aʿlam. Tammāt.



Tract 9. MS p. 205-221

In his book *Mishkat al-Anwār* (The Niche of Lights) Al-Ghazālī says: There is no possible being of greater worth than this world and no more beautiful or finer creation than it; even so, man is more than all worlds. For this reason some of the gnostics have declared that it is obligatory for the (would be) gnostic to understand in what respects man resembles the world and in what respects he is more than it. Man resembles the world in so far as this, that in both we find the spheres of Mulk, Malakūt and Jabarūt.<sup>1)</sup> That which is called the sphere of Mulk is the world of those things which can be physically seen, heard and felt, whereas the sphere of Malakūt is that which cannot be seen or heard or felt. The wisdom of God has acted in such a way as to manifest in this world (Mulk) only what he had manifested first in the world of Malakūt, from where it has descended to this world.

The sphere of Jabarūt is that in which the names of God are manifested linking together the spheres of Mulk and Malakūt.

That which is called the sphere of Mulk in regard to man is those things (those parts of him) which can be physically seen and heard and felt, such as flesh and bones and blood; and that which is called the sphere of

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1) cp. Wensinck A.J. On the relation between Ghazali's cosmology and his mysticism. p. 12-13.



Malakūt in regard to him is those things which cannot be physically seen, or heard or felt, such as intelligence, knowledge and the attributes of his essence such as life, knowledge, will, strength hearing, ~~seeing~~<sup>sight</sup> and speech.

And the wisdom of God has acted in such a way as to manifest in the 'Mulk' of man only what He had previously manifested in his Malakūt, from where it descended to his 'Mulk'.

For this reason the Malakūt of man can be compared to his spiritual qualities (lit: contents) and the Mulk his physical ones (lit: skin). That which is called the sphere of Jabarūt in regard to man is his five senses, viz. sight, hearing, taste, smelling and ~~feeling~~<sup>touch</sup>.

This order of things is to be found in the world and man, and it is from this standpoint they are said to be similar. Man is more than all the worlds however from the standpoint that he bears God's trust. This means that the Essence, Attributes and Acts of God are all perfectly manifested in him - with two exceptions: the attribute Necessary Being (wājib al-wujūd) and that of Absolute Self-Sufficiency (ghinā mutlak). The reason why God in his Wisdom does not manifest these two attributes is that He wishes to display the excellence of God and the excellence of man's acknowledgment of the Divine Unity.

In his book Lubāb al-Taṣawwuf (The Quintessence of Sufism), Ibn al-'Arabi says: The gnostic must know the



grades of Godhead and Lordship so that his knowledge of God may be perfect.<sup>1)</sup> The grade of Lordship is that of the manifestation of each of the Attributes of the Essence as, for instance, expressed in His names:- The Knower, The Willer, The Powerful, The Hearer, The Speaker. The name Knower requires its logical correlative, the known; similarly the Willer requires the things willed, the Powerful requires that over which power is exercised, the Hearer the things heard, The Seer the things seen, and the Speaker, words spoken. To the Gnostic each name is a path to God from the effect to the cause. This is the grade of Lordship.

The grade of Godhead on the other hand is that of God's manifestation of his Essence under the name Allāh for from this point of view the mystics say that Allāh is one and the same as all the others such as the Living One, the Knower, the Willer, the Powerful, the Hearer, the Seer and the Speaker. From this standpoint (of the Godhead) the name Allāh comprises all the other names, and for this reason those who have achieved gnosis use only the word Allāh when practising dhikr.

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1) cp. Nicholson op.cit. p. 98.



Tract X Ms. p. 222-235.

- 222 Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmāni 'l-Rahīm - Dengan nama Allah  
jua aku memulai memacha kitab ini, Yang amat murah yang  
amat mengasiani. Al-hamdu li 'llāhi waḥdahu - Segala  
puji-pujian bagi Allah, Tuhan yang esa; wa'l-ṣalātu  
wa 'l-salāmu 'alā man lā nabiyya ba'dahu - dan rahmat  
Allah dan salam-nya atas nabi Allah yang tiada nabi  
kemudian-nya. Wa ba'du ada pun kemudian dari-it, maka  
223 ini peri menyatakan segala sifat yang dua puluh yang wajib  
pada Allah ta'ala: Pertama Wujūd, erti-nya keadaan; kedua  
kādam,<sup>1)</sup> erti-nya sedia; ketiga Bakā', erti-nya kekal;  
kempat Mukhalafatuhu li'l-ḥawādith, erti-nya bersalahan  
dengan segala yang baharu; kelima Kiyāmuhu bi-nafsihi,  
erti-nya berdiri ia sendiri-nya; ke-enam Waḥdāniyah  
224 erti-nya yang esa; ketujuh Ḥayāt, erti-nya hidup; kedua  
lapan 'Ilm, erti-nya tahu; ke-sembilan Irādat, erti-nya  
kehendak; ke-sapuluh Ḳudrat, erti-nya kuasa; kesa-belas  
Sam', erti-nya penengar; kedua-belas Baṣar, erti-nya  
penglihat; ketiga-belas Kalām, erti-nya berkata; ke-empat  
belas Ḥayy, erti-nya yang hidup; kelima belas 'Ālim, erti-  
nya yang tahu; ke-enam belas Murīd, erti-nya yang  
224/225 berkehendak; ketujuh belas Ḳādir, erti-nya yang kuasa;  
kedualapan belas Samī', erti-nya yang memengar; ke-sembilan  
belas Baṣīr, erti-nya yang melihat; kedua puluh  
Mutakallim, erti-nya yang berkata. Maka segala sifat yang  
1) Ms. kadīm



kedua puluh itu, sakalian-nya wajib pada Allah ta'ala jua, maka di-karunia<sup>ai</sup> Allah S.W.T. akan insan kamil, erti-nya manusia yang sempurna.

- 225 (sic) Maka insan kamil itu asal-nya bersifat dengan lawan sifat dua puluh yang tersebut itu: Pertama 'adam, erti-nya tiada ada;<sup>1)</sup> kedua muhdath, erti-nya baharu; ketiga fanā', erti-nya lenyap; ke-empat mumāthaluhu li' l-hawādīth, erti-nya sa-bagai ia dengan segala yang baharu; kelima ḵiyāmuhu bi ghairihi, erti-nya berdiri ia dengan yang lain-nya, ya'ni dengan Allah ta'ala; ke-enam kathrah erti-nya banyak; ketujuh maut, erti-nya mati; kedualapan jahl, erti-nya bebal; kesembilan 'adam al-irādat, erti-nya tiada ada kehendak-nya; kesapuluh 'ajz, erti-nya lemah; kesabelas ḡumm, erti-nya tuli; keduabelas 'amā, erti-nya tiada melihat; ketiga belas bakam, erti-nya tiada berkata; ke-empat belas mayyit, erti-nya yang tiada ada<sup>1)</sup> hidup; kelima belas ḡāhil, erti-nya yang tiada tahu; ke-enam belas mukrah, erti-nya yang tiada sa-kehendak; ketujuh belas 'ājiz, erti-nya yang lemah; ke-dualapan belas 'adam al-samī' erti-nya yang tiada menengar; ke-sembilan belas 'adam al-baṣīr, erti-nya yang tiada melihat; kedua puluh 'adam al-kalām, erti-nya yang tiada berkata.

- 228 Maka apabila Allah S.W.T. berkehendak menyatakan diri-nya dengan sempurna nyata-nya kepada segala makhluk-nya, maka tajalli Ia kepada hadrat 'ilmī-nya, maka nyata

1) Presumably. Ms.



pada hadrat 'ilmi-nya itu dhat-nya yang mutlak dan ma'lum-nya yang mutlak. Sa-telah itu maka tajalli Ia kapada hadrat 'ilmi-nya jua hendak menyatakan tajalli-nya yang mutlak yang mujmal yang pertama; erti-nya yang sa-jati-nya dan yang berhimpun itu, kapada tajalli-nya yang mufassal, erti-nya yang bercherai<sub>2</sub> ya'ni dengan cherai<sub>2</sub> 'ilmi-nya jua. Maka 'alam tajalli yang pertama itu shu' un dhat nama-nya, erti-nya laku dhat, dan 'alam tajalli yang kedua itu a'yan thabitah nama-nya erti-nya segala nyata yang tetap dalam 'ilmu Hakk ta'ala itu.

230 Maka pada mertabat a'yan thabitah yang 'alam tajalli yang kedua itu, nyata-lah insan kamil dan insan hayawan dan sa-mesta sekalian. Ada pun nyata insan kamil itu dengan dua nyata, suatu dengan nyata shu' un dhat, kedua dengan nyata a'yan thabitah. Maka nyata insan kamil dengan dua nyata itu pada mertabat tajalli hadrat yang kedua, yang 231 'alam-nya a'yan thabitah itu; dan nyata pada insan kamil itu dengan sifat Allah yang dua-puluh yang wajib pada Allah ta'ala itu. Ada pun apakala Allah S.W.T. berkehendak kapada tajalli yang menyatakan diri-nya kapada segala makhluk ini<sup>1)</sup> sakalian, maka di-nyatakan-nya insan kamil dan insan hayawan dan sa-mesta sekalian. Shahadan di- 232 pakaikan pakaian segala sifat-nya yang dua puluh yang wajib pada-nya itu kapada insan. Maka dari karena insan itu memakai pakaian itu, maka di-jadikan-nya insan itu akan khalifah-nya, tetapi sifat Allah yang dua puluh yang wajib

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1) Or possibly'nya.



233 pada Allah ta'ala itu kadim lagi baka', dan sifat Allah yang dua puluh yang wajib pada Allah ta'ala yang dipakaikan Allah ta'ala kepada insan itu muhdath lagi fana' karena tiada di-peroleh pada insan itu kesempurnaan sakalian-nya dan bekas sakalian-nya itu.

Ada pun dalil menyebutkan bahawa insan itu dipakaikan Allah s.w.t. kepada-nya pakaian sifat-nya yang dua puluh itu hadith nabi Muhammad rasul Allah s.a.w:

234 Inna 'llāha khalaka Ādama 'alā ṣūratihī ay 'alā ṣifātihī,<sup>1)</sup>  
erti-nya: Bahawa sa-nya Allah ta'ala menjadikan Adam atas rupa-nya, erti-nya atas sifat-nya. Ada pun jika sa-sa-orang daripada hamba Allah yang 'arif beroleh karunia Allah s.w.t. hidayat mengetahui dan mengenal perkataan ini, maka sa-yogia-nya atas-nya membawa jalan fana' fi 'llah baka' bi-'llah, yang menafikan segala sifat yang nyata pada-nya [yang bernama sifat bashariat-nya itu,<sup>2)</sup>] dan mengithbatkan segala sifat Allah yang nyata pada-nya. Dan yang mengithbatkan sifat Allah itu mertabat awlia Allah yang membawakur'ib nawafil. Maka isharat nafi<sup>3)</sup> ithbat-nya itu pada kalimah hā ilāha illā 'llāh itu jua. Wa' llah a'lam.

235

1) cp. Wensinck op.cit. Vol.II. p.71.

2) This phrase misplaced after the second pada-nya in the Ms.

3) Ms. fana'



Tract 10. MS p.222-235

This tract deals with the twenty attributes that are necessary to Almighty God. The first is Being (wujūd); the second Uncreatedness (kidam); the third Perpetuity (bakā'); the fourth otherness from created things (mukhalafatuhu li'l-hawādithi); the fifth self-subsistence (kiyāmuhu bi nafsihi); the sixth Unity (wahdāniyah); the seventh Life (Hayāt); the eighth Knowledge (Uilm); the ninth Will (irādat); the tenth Power (kudrāt); the eleventh Hearing (sam'); the twelfth Sight (baṣar); the thirteenth Speech (kalām). The fourteenth is The Living One (Ḥayy); the fifteenth The Knower ('ālim); the sixteenth The Willer (murīd); the seventeenth The Powerful One (kādir); the eighteenth The Hearer (samī'); the nineteenth The Seer (baṣīr); and the twentieth the Speaker (mutakallim). All these twenty attributes which are necessary to Almighty God have been granted by Him to the Perfect Man.

Originally the Perfect Man had attributes which are the contrary of these; the first was non-being ('adam); the second createdness (muhdath); the third transitoriness (fanā'); the fourth similarity to created things (mumathalat li'l-hawādith); the fifth dependence on other than himself (kiyāmuhu bi ghairihi); the sixth manifoldness (kathrat); the seventh death (mawt); the eighth Ignorance (Jahl);



the ninth lack of will ('adam al irādat); the tenth infirmity ('ajz); the eleventh deafness (samam); the twelfth blindness ('amā); the thirteenth dumbness (bakam). The fourteenth was the dying one (mayyit); the fifteenth the ignorant one (jāhil); the sixteenth the constrained one (mukrah); the seventeenth the infirm one ('ājiz); the eighteenth the deaf one ('adam al-samī); the nineteenth the sightless one ('adam al-baṣīr) and the twentieth the dumb one ('adam al-kalām).

When Almighty God wished to make a perfect revelation of Himself to His creation, He manifested Himself to the grade of His knowledge and His absolute essence and the absolute content of His knowledge became manifest there. Then He made another manifestation of the grade of His knowledge in order to display His first general and absolute manifestation to the manifestation of Himself as particularised. The sphere of the first manifestation is called The Conditions of the Essence (shu'ūn dhāt) and that of the second the Fixed Essences.

The Perfect Man, the Animal Man and all other things are revealed at the grade of the Fixed Essences which is the sphere of the second manifestation. The Perfect Man has a twofold manifestation, one through the Conditions of the Essence and the other through the Fixed Essences. He is manifested in these two ways at the second grade which is the sphere of the Fixed Essences.



In the Perfect Man are manifested the twenty attributes that are necessary to Almighty God, for when God decided to reveal Himself to His creation He manifested the Perfect Man, the Animal Man and all creation. Then He clothed Man with His twenty necessary attributes, and it is because Man wears this raiment that God has appointed him his Vice-Regent. Nevertheless the Twenty necessary attributes of God are uncreated and imperishable, whereas those with which He has clothed man are temporal and ephemeral, for man has not been invested with them in their full perfection.

The text stating that God invested man with His twenty attributes is the tradition of the Prophet: God created man in his likeness, that is to say after His attributes. If anyone of God's servants who has achieved gnosis receives guidance from Him to recognize and understand this, it is his duty to follow the path of extinction in God and abiding By Him; this is the denying of those attributes of his which are called human attributes<sup>1)</sup> and the affirming of the attributes of God manifested in him. This affirming of the attributes of God is at the grade of those saints of His who have received the rank of 'Kurb nawāfil'.<sup>2)</sup> The doctrine of extinction and affirmation is indicated by the words: Lā ilāha illā'llāh. God knoweth best.

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1) The phrase: yang bernama sifat bashariat-nya itu is obviously out of place in the text.

2) Khaja Khan op.cit. p.13 says that this is the grade when the abd sees, hears, and touches by the sight, hearing and touch of God.



Tract XI Ms. p. 237-245.

237

Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmāni 'l-Rahīm. Al-ḥamdu li'llāhi

waḥdahu, wa'l-ṣalātu wa'l-salāmu 'alā man lā nabiyya

ba'dahu. Wa ba'du ada pun kemudian dari itu maka ini peri  
menyatakan a'yan thabitah dan a'yan kharijiah. Maka a'yan  
thabitah itu, erti-nya segala nyata yang tetap, ya'ni yang  
tetap dalam 'ilmu<sup>u</sup> Hakk ta'ala, berolēh nisbat daripada asma'  
238 Hakk ta'ala, maka ia-itu rachana daripada rupa 'ilmu  
Hakk ta'ala dalam 'ilmu Hakk ta'ala yang berpakaian shu'un  
dhat-nya,<sup>1)</sup> ya'ni yang nyata dengan nyata segala laku dhat  
Hakk ta'ala, dan ia-itu hakikat bagi a'yan kharijiah, erti-  
nya segala nyata yang di-luar 'ilmu. Ada pun a'yan  
kharijiah ini berolēh nisbat daripada a'yan thabitah itu  
239 dan ia-itu dzahir 'ain thabitah yang batin itu.

239

Sa-bermula akan 'ain thabitah itu, ada bagi-nya dua  
'ibarat. Suatu 'ibarat daripada bahawa ia rupa segala  
ismu Hakk ta'ala, maka ia-itu dengan 'ibarat ini kadim  
tiada muhdath. Kedua 'ibarat daripada bahawa ia hakikat  
a'yan kharijiah ini, maka ia-itu dengan 'ibarat ini muhdath  
240 tiada kadim, tetapi kadim a'yan thabitah itu kadim hukumi  
jua, dan muhdath-nya muhdath dhati. Maka dengan 'ibarat  
ini-lah kata Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn Jāmī,<sup>2)</sup> kaddasa 'llāhu

1) cp. al-Rānirī: Jawāhir al-'ulūm fī kash al-ma'lūm S.O.A.S. Marsden collection 12151 p.85 where an almost identical passage occurs, part quoted in Arabic and also, apparently, attributed to Jāmī.

2) d. 1492 cp. Brockelmann G.II p.207.



sirrahu: Thumma 'l - a'yanu 'l-thabitatu, lahā i'tibārāni,  
i'tibārūn annahā suwaru 'l-asmā'i, wa i'tabārūn annahā ḥakā'  
iku 'l-a'yan al-kharijiyya, erti-nya: Maka a'yan

- 241 thabitah itu bagi-nya dua 'ibarat: suatu ibarat bahawa ia  
 rupa segala nama Hakk ta'ala, kedua 'ibarat bahawa ia  
 hakikat a'yan kharijiah ini. Maka ia-itu dengan 'ibarat  
 yang pertama seperti tuboh bagi nyawa dan dengan 'ibarat  
 yang kedua, seperti nyawa bagi tuboh. Maka upama a'yan  
 thabitah itu seperti upama chermin. Maka akan chermin itu  
 ada hadapan dan ada belakang. Maka hadapan-nya itu  
 242 berhadap kepada asma' Hakk ta'ala, dan belakang-nya itu  
 berhadap kepada a'yan kharijiah. Maka daripada pēhak  
 hadapan-nya dan mulazamat-nya dengan ismū Hakk ta'ala itu,  
 maka di-'ibaratkan segala 'ulama yang muhakkikin ia kadim,  
 dan dari-pada pēhak belakang-nya dan mulazamat-nya dengan  
 a'yan kharijiah ini, maka di-'ibaratkan segala 'ulama yang  
 muhakkikin ia muhdath.

- 243 Ada pun yang menyatakan kadim dan muhdath a'yan  
 thabitah itu daripada segala 'ulama muhakkikin salaf, erti-  
 nya yang dahulu kala, dalam kitab merēka itu, seperti  
 Shaikh Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi<sup>1)</sup> dan Shaikh Hujjat al-  
 Islam al-Ghazali<sup>2)</sup> dan Shaikh Fakhr al-din al-Razi,<sup>3)</sup> dan  
 Shaikh Kushairi Sulami<sup>4)</sup> kaddasa 'llah asrarahum; dan

1) d.1191 cp. Brockelmann G. SI. p.781.

2) d.1111 cp. " G. I. p.420.

3) d.1209 cp. " G. SI. p.920.

4) d.1072 cp. " G. SI. p.770.



daripada 'ulama muhakkikin yang khalaf, erti-nya yang kemudian yang ganti-berganti dalam kitab merēka itu saperti Shaikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Ghazhawi<sup>1)</sup> dan Shaikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Taftazani<sup>2)</sup> dan Shaikh Kutub al-Din al-Shirazi<sup>3)</sup> dan Shaikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Hamawi<sup>4)</sup> dan Shaikh Kamal al-Din al-Kai'ini<sup>5)</sup>, kaddasa 'llahu asrara hum. Maka segala 'ulama muhakkikin yang tersebut itu-lah ber'itikad demikian itu, maka barang siapa menyalahi i'tikad yang demikian itu, neschaya jatuh kapada dalalat. Wa 'allah a'lam. Tammat.

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1) Uncertain

2) d.1389 cp. Brockelmann G.II. p. 215.

3) d.1312 " " G.II. p.211.

4) Uncertain

5) Uncertain



Tract 11. MS p. 237-245

This tract deals with the Fixed Essences (a'yān thabita) and the Exterior Essences (a'yān Kharijiyah) The Fixed Essences, which subsist in the Divine knowledge, are related to the Divine Names, being the exemplars within the Divine knowledge of the forms of that knowledge, and are clothed in the Conditions of the Essence i.e. are manifested through them - and are thus the reality (hakika) of the Exterior Essences. The Exterior Essences being the exterior of the Fixed Essences, which are hidden, are dependent on them.

These Fixed Essences can be considered from two standpoints. From the first they are the forms of the Divine Names, and as such are eternal and uncreated. From the second they are the reality of the Exterior Essences, and as such are created and temporal; logically they are uncreated, but in themselves they are temporal. It is in this sense that Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn Jāmī said: the

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- 1) These are defined by al-Jurjānī (d. 1413 cp. Brockelmann G II p. 280) in the Kitāb al-ta'rifāt ed. Flügel p.166: 'A fixed Essence is a reality (hakika) at the grade of (Divine) knowledge which has no external existence, but which is fixed and non-existent in the knowledge of God.' On page 30 he gives a definition of the plural term: 'The Fixed Essences are the realities of contingent existents within the knowledge of God and the forms of the realities of the Divine names at the grade of the (Divine) knowledge. Their existence is posterior to that of God in point of their essence, not in point of time for they are both pre- and post-eternal. When it is said they are produced by emanation, the posteriority here implied refers only to their essence and to nothing else.' cp. also Notices et Extraits Vol. X p.65 et seq.



Fixed Essences can be considered in two ways, as the forms of the Divine Names, and as the reality of the Exterior Essences. According to the one they are as the body to the soul, and to the other as the soul to the body. They have been compared to a double-faced mirror the front of which faces the Divine Names and the back the exterior essences. With respect to the front, and their dependence on the Divine Names the Sūfī doctors say they are uncreated, but with regard to the back and their inseparable relationship with the Exterior Essences, they are temporal.

Those who have explained the uncreatedness and temporality of the Fixed Essences in their books are the Sūfī Doctors of former times such as Shaikh Shibāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, Shaikh Hujjat al-Islām al-Ghazzālī, Shaikh Fakhrū'l-Dīn al-Rāzī and Shaikh Kūshairī al-Sulamī, may they be blessed by God; and more recently their successors such as Shaikh Sa'ad al-Dīn al-Ghaznāwī, Shaikh Sa'ad al-Dīn al-Taftazānī, Shaikh Kutub al-Dīn al-Shirazī, Shaikh Sa'ad al-Dīn al-Ḥamāwī and Shaikh Kamal al-Dīn al-Ka'ini (?) - may they be blessed by God. All the Sūfī doctors who have been mentioned hold to this belief and whoever deviates from them will certainly fall into error.



Tract XII Ms. p. 245-260

- 245 (sic) Bismillāhi 'l-Raḥmāni 'l-Raḥīm - Dengan nama Allah jua memulaí memacha kitab yang simpan ini, Yang amat murah yang amat mengasiani. Al-ḥamdu li 'llāhi waḥdahu - Segala puji-pujian bagi Allah, Tuhan yang esa ke-esaan-nya; wa'l-salātu wa'l-salāmu 'alā man lā nabiyya ba'dahu - dan rahmat Allah dan salam-nya atas nabi Allah yang tiada habi kemudian-nya.
- 246 Wa ba'du ada pun kemudian dari pada menguchap Basmalah, erti-nya: Bismillāhi 'l-Raḥmāni 'l-Raḥīm, dan Ḥamdalah, erti-nya: al-ḥamdu li 'llāhi waḥdahu, dan salawat akan nabi Allah itu, maka ini perkataan yang menyatakan kenyataan peri daērah ya'ni daērah waḥdat al-wujud, erti-nya kandang ke-esaan dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya; dan menyatakan kenyataan kāba kausain, erti-nya telah damping-nya, ya'ni damping nabi Allah dan segala yang berolēh warith daripada nabi Allah kepada Allah ta'ala upama dua bentok busar; dan yang menyatakan kenyataan peri aw adnā, erti-nya telah damping-nya ya'ni damping nabi Allah dan segala yang berolēh warith daripada nabi Allah kepada Allah ta'ala tetapi terdamping pula dari
- 247 dua bentok busar itu.
- 248

Ketahuí, hai Talib Hakk ta'ala, erti-nya, hai yang menuntut dhat Hakk ta'ala dan wujud-nya - di-karuniaí Allah ta'ala kira-nya nur kashif, erti-nya chahaya yang membukakan hijab akan yang menuntut dia dengan sempurnaa-nya dari dunia datang ka-akhirat - bahawa daērah itu ma 'arif rabbani menyatakan dua mertabat dhat Allah ta'ala dan

249




250 wujud-nya. Suatu dari dua mertabat itu mertabat dhat Allah yang mutlak, erti-nya ada Allah yang sa-jati-nya, ya'ni nyata dhat Allah ta'ala itu tiada menyertai Dia nyata segala sifat-nya dan tiada nyata segala ismu-nya, dan tiada nyata segala fi'l-nya pada mertabat itu, tetapi segala sifat-nya dan segala ismu-nya dan segala fi'l-nya pada mertabat itu terbuni pada ke-esaan nyata dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya itu. Kedua dari dua mertabat itu mertabat dhat Allah ta'ala, dan wujud Allah yang mukayad, erti-nya yang bertambatan, ya'ni bertambatan nyata dhat Allah ta'ala itu dengan nyata sa-suatu daripada segala sifat-nya atau dengan nyata sa-suatu daripada segala ismu-nya atau dengan nyata sa-suatu daripada segala fi'l-nya.

251


Bermula mertabat dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud Allah yang mukayad itu dua mertabat-nya: suatu dari dua mertabat itu mukayad nyata-nya dengan nyata segala sifat-nya; kedua dari dua mertabat itu mukayad nyata-nya dengan nyata segala ismu-nya dan dengan nyata segala fi'l-nya. Ada pun mertabat dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud Allah yang mutlak itu mertabat ahadiat, erti-nya esa, dan mertabat dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud Allah yang mukayad dengan segala sifat-nya itu, mertabat wahdat, erti-nya punya esa, dan mertabat dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud Allah yang mukayad dengan segala ismu-nya dan segala fi'l-nya itu mertabat wahidiat, erti-nya, yang esa.


252

253 Bermula dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud Allah yang mutlak itu upama-nya upama daerah ini: , maka tiada nyata



sa-suatu daripada segala sifat-nya dan tiada nyata sa-suatu daripada segala ismu-nya dan tiada nyata sa-suatu daripada segala fi'l-nya serta nyata dhat, daērah ini.

254 Bermula dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya yang mukayad dengan segala sifat-nya itu upama-nya upama daērah ini: , maka nyata sifat-nya serta nyata dhat daērah ini.

255 Bermula, dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya yang mukayad, erti-nya yang bertambatan dengan segala ismu-nya dan segala fi'l-nya itu upama-nya upama daērah ini: , maka nyata segala ismu-nya dan segala fi'l-nya serta nyata dhat daērah ini.

256 Sa-bermula au adnā, erti-nya tetapi terdamping ia, ya'ni damping nabi Allah dan segala yang berolēh warith daripada nabi Allah kepada dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya, upama-nya upama daērah dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya yang [mukayad dengan segala sifat-nya]<sup>1)</sup> itu; dan kāba kausain-nya, erti-nya telah damping-nya, ya'ni damping nabi Allah dan segala yang berolēh warith daripada nabi Allah kepada Allah ta'ala saperti dua bentok busar ya'ni daērah yang ketiga itu, upama-nya upama daērah dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya yang mukayad dengan segala ismu-nya dan dengan segala fi'l-nya.<sup>2)</sup>

257 Ada pun 'arif rabbani yang membawa isharat fana' fi'llah dan baka' bi'llah, ya'ni lenyap dalam Allah ta'ala dan kekal

1) Text: mutlak. Obviously a slip.

2) cp. Van Nienwenhuize op.cit. p.312. The same teaching also occurs twice in another MS. attributed to Shamsu'l-Din i.e. Leiden Cod. Or. 7236 p.1-2 and p.27.



dengan Allah ta'ala itu, maka yang di-fanakan-nya itu, urēh<sup>1)</sup> yang nyata dalam dhat daērah itu-lah jua, dan yang di-bakakan-nya itu, tempat tetap urēh yang tiada berurēh, ya'ni yang mutlak yang nyata dalam dhat daērah itu-lah jua, karena upama urēh itu upama sa-benar<sub>2</sub> diri-nya yang nyata dalam 'ilmu Hakk ta'ala yang tetap pada dhat Hakk ta'ala itu. Maka apabila fana'-lah 'arif rabbani sa-benar<sub>2</sub> diri-nya itu pada ma'rifat-nya dan pada dhauki-nya dan pada mushahadah-nya, maka baka' dhat yang mutlak itu-lah jua pada ma'rifat-nya dan pada dhauki-nya dan pada mushahadah-nya, neschaya di-perolēh-nya-lah fana' fi'illah dan baka' bi'illah itu.

Ada pun 'arif rabbani yang membawa isharat Dhikr, erti-nya tersedar dalam hati-nya, ya'ni tersedar akan dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya yang mutlak yang tempat nyata urēh itu jua, dan yang membawa isharat Murākabah, erti-nya ingat dalam hati-nya akan dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya yang mutlak yang tempat nyata urēh itu jua, dan yang membawa isharat Tawajjuh, erti-nya menghadapkan mata hati-nya kepada dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya yang mutlak yang tempat ~~tempat~~ nyata urēh itu jua, dan yang membawa isharat Mushāhadah, erti-nya memandang mata hati-nya kepada dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya yang mutlak yang tempat nyata urēh itu jua. Wa'llah a'lam.

Tammam.

1) Written h.u.r.s., but Achenese pronunciation urēh. cp. Djajadiningrat op.cit. p. 218 under oerēh.



## Tract 12

This tract deals with the circle of the Unity of Being that contains the unity of God's Essence and His Being. It also explains Kāba kausain which means the closeness of the prophets, and all who are their heirs, to God<sup>1)</sup> that is compared to two bows' length, and Au Adnā which means the closeness of the prophets, and all who are their heirs, to God that is even less than two bows' length.

Know Oh Seeker of Almighty God - May God bestow upon you His revealing Light - that according to the gnostics the circle illustrates two grades of God's Essence and Being. The first represents that at which there is no manifestation of His Attributes, Names or Acts since they are concealed in the unity of His Essence and Being, and the second that at which His Essence and Being are determined through any one of His Attributes Names or Acts.

The grade of God's Essence and Being as determined falls into two divisions. The first is a determination through

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1) This seems an echo of the tradition: Al'ulama'u warathatu 'l-anbiyā', i.e. The learned are the heirs of the prophets. The construction is a little difficult however, and giving wārith the Achenese meaning, friendship, the sentence might run ... the closeness of the Prophet to God, and all who obtain His friendship (wārith) through him.



His Names and Acts. The grade at which His Essence and being are absolute is Ahadiyya; that at which they are determined by His Attributes is Wahda, and that at which they are determined by His Names and Acts is Wahidiyya.

When God's Essence and Being are (considered as) absolute, they are represented by this circle O in the essence of which none of His Attributes Names or Acts are revealed. When they are considered as determined by His Attributes they are represented by this circle @ in the essence of which the Attributes are revealed; and when (considered as) determined by His Names and Acts, they are represented by this circle @ in the essence of which His Names and Acts are revealed.

Au adnā, which means the closeness of the prophets and all who are their heirs <sup>to the Essence and Being of God</sup> that is even less than two bows' length, is represented by the circle of God's absolute Essence and Being as determined by His Attributes. Kaba kasain, which means the closeness of the prophets and all who are their heirs to God that is compared to two bows' length, is represented by the third circle which illustrates the absolute Essence and Being of God as determined by His Names and Acts.

The gnostics give directions for extinction in God and permanence through Him. What they obliterate is the line that appeared in the essence of that same circle, and



what they make to remain is the place where the line was, and is no more i.e. it is the absolute that resides in that same circle,<sup>1)</sup> for the line represents the true self that is manifested in God's knowledge and subsists in His Essence. And therefore, when the gnostic has obliterated the reality of his self in his gnosis (ma'rifāt) experience (dhauk) and contemplation (mushāhadah) and it is the absolute Essence that remains there, then he has certainly become extinct in God and achieved permanence through Him.

The gnostics also give directions for Recollection (Dhikr) which is continual remembrance of God's absolute Essence and Being: for Observation (Murākabah) which is continual awareness of them; for Concentration (Tawajjuh) which is the turning of the eye of the heart towards them; and for Contemplation (Mushāhadah) which is the vision of them with eye of the heart, for His Essence and absolute Being are the place where the line is manifested. God knoweth best.

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1) This passage might also be construed: The gnostics

have given symbols for extinction in God and permanence through Him, representing fana' by a line drawn in the essence of that same circle, and baka' by the place where the line subsists without being marked.



Tract XIII. Ms. p.261-280

- 261 Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmāni 'l-Rahīm - Dengan nama Allah  
jua aku memulai memacha perkataan yang dalam surat ini,  
Yang amat murah dalam negeri dunia ini, Yang amat mengasiani  
hamba-nya mu'min dalam negeri akhirat itu. Al-hamdu li'llāhi  
'l-ladhī hadānā 'alā sirātin mustakīm.— Segala puji-pujian  
bagi Allah yang menunjoki kami atas jalan yang betul; wa  
262 arsala nabiyyahu 'alainā bi'l-tarīki 'l-hudā wa'l-jādati  
262 'l-mustakīm. - dan Yang menitahkan nabi-nya nabi Muhammad  
s.a.w. kapada kami dengan menunjoki jalan yang betul dan  
jalan yang elok yang tiada terbawa kapada yang tiada betul.  
Wa'l-salātu wa'l-salāmu 'alā habībihi Muḥammadin s.a.w.  
263 sāhibi khulkin azīm. — Dan rahmat Allah dan salam-nya  
atas kekasih-nya Muhammad s.a.w. yang berperangai dengan  
perangai yang amat besar; wa 'alā ālihi wa sāhibi nūjūmi  
'l-hudā fī 'ālamī 'l-shahādati 'l-karīm. - dan atas segala  
keluarga-nya dan segala sahabat-nya yang mereka itu bintang  
yang menunjoki jalan yang betul dalam 'alam shahadat, erti-nya  
264 dalam 'alam yang terpandang yang mulia ini. Wa ba'du ada  
pun kemudian dari itu maka ini perkataan menyatakan tanazzul,  
erti-nya turun nyata nur yang mutlak, erti-nya cahaya Allah  
yang sa-jati-nya kapada insan. Maka sa-yogia-nya akan  
'arif rabbani mengetahui dan mengenal dengan pengetahuan dan  
265 pengenal yang sempurna akan tanazzul, erti-nya turun nyata  
nur Allah yang mutlak itu, erti-nya cahaya Allah yang  
sa-jati-nya itu, kapada insan, supaya sempurna 'ilmi-nya



dan ma'rifat-nya, erti-nya pengetahuan-nya dan mengenal-nya akan Allah ta'ala dan akan nabi Muhammad rasul Allah s.a.w. dan akan diri-nya, dan supaya terpelihara ia daripada  
 266 kesilapan pada | 'ilmi-nya dan pada ma'rifat-nya, dan di-tambahi Allah ta'ala akan dia pada meluaskan keluasan nyata ma'rifat-nya dan tauhid-nya dan iman-nya dan islam-nya yang hakiki dalam dar al-dunia ini, beserta dengan tambah bertambah karunia Allah ta'ala akan dia rahmat yang tiada  
 267 terkira-kirai' dan tiada tepermenai' olēh makhlok.

Ada pun bahawa sa-nya nur Allah yang mutlak, erti-nya cahaya Allah yang sa-jati-nya, ia-itu wujud Allah yang mutlak, erti-nya ada Allah yang sa-jati-nya, maka daripada ada Allah yang sa-jati-nya itu nyata ia, maka jadi nyata insan dan nyata sarwa 'alam sakalian, maka di-namai' ia nur Allah yang mutlak, erti-nya cahaya Allah yang sa-jati-nya;  
 268 dan daripada ada Allah yang mutlak, | erti-nya ada Allah yang sa-jati-nya itu, maka jadi ada insan dan ada sarwa 'alam sakalian, maka di-namai' ia wujud Allah yang mutlak, erti-nya ada Allah yang sa-jati-nya.

Maka tatkala Allah s.w.t. handak menyatakan kenyataan wujud-nya yang mutlak dan nur-nya yang mutlak itu pada sa-  
 269 sa-orang hamba-nya yang khas, maka turun nyata nur Allah | yang mutlak itu kepada hati orang yang khas itu. Maka di-namai' ia pada mertabat itu nur kashif, erti-nya cahaya yang membukakan, ya'ni yang membukakan segala dinding yang mendindingi wujud Allah yang mutlak, erti-nya ada Allah yang sa-jati-nya itu.



~~270~~ Maka nur mutlak itu pada ahlu 'llah nama dhat Allah ta'ala,  
 270 dan nur kashif itu pada ahlu 'llah nama sifat dhat-nya,  
 erti-nya nama peri yang menyatakan dhat-nya, yang tetap pada  
 dhat-nya. Dan apakala Allah s.w.t. hendak menyatakan  
 kenyataan persanggerahan nyata wujud-nya yang mutlak dan  
 nur-nya yang mutlak itu pada sa-sa-orang hamba-nya yang khas,  
 maka turun nyata nur kashif itu kapada hati hamba-nya yang  
 271 khas itu, maka di-nama' ia pada mertabat itu taufik dan  
 h<sup>d</sup>idayat, erti-nya tunjokan betul, dan menunjokkan kapada  
 yang betul. Maka taufik dan hidayat itu pada ahlu 'llah  
 nama sifat fi'l, erti-nya nama peri mengadakan perbuatan  
 sa-suatu. Maka dengan karunia Allah yang terkarunia akan  
 orang yang khas nur kashif itu, jadi nyata pada-nya wujud  
 272 Allah yang mutlak itu; dan dengan karunia Allah yang  
 terkarunia akan orang yang khas itu taufik dan hidayat, jadi  
 nyata pada-nya persanggarahan wujud Allah yang mutlak itu.

Ada pun wujud mutlak dan nur mutlak itu pada 'ulama  
~~273~~ shari'at nama dhat Allah ta'ala. Maka nama dhat Allah ta'ala  
 273 itu dengan dhat Allah ta'ala itu ada 'ain-nya dan ada  
 ghair-nya, erti-nya ada tiada lain-nya dan ada lain-nya,  
 ya'ni ada persuatuan-nya dan ada tiada persuatuan-nya. Maka  
 yang di-keraskan merēka itu, pada i'tikad merēka itu, yang  
 tiada persuatuan jua. Ada pun wujud mutlak dan nur mutlak  
 itu pada 'ulama hakikat nama dhat Allah ta'ala, maka nama  
 274 dhat Allah ta'ala dengan dhat Allah ta'ala itu 'ain, tiada  
 ghair, erti-nya suatu jua, tiada lain pada wujud-nya dan pada



hakikat-nya dengan dhat.

Maka demikian lagi nur kashif, erti-nya cahaya yang  
membukakan segala dinding itu pada 'ulama<sup>a</sup> shari'at sifat  
dhat, erti-nya peri dhat. Maka sifat dhat itu ada 'ain-nya  
dan ada ghair-nya, erti-nya ada persatuan-nya dan ada tiada  
275 persatuan-nya, maka di-keraskan merēka itu pada i'tikad  
merēka itu yang tiada persatuan-nya jua. Ada pun nur  
kashif itu pada 'ulama hakikat sifat dhat, maka sifat dhat  
itu dengan dhat 'ain tiada ghair, erti-nya suatu jua, tiada  
lain pada wujud-nya dan hakikat-nya dengan dhat.

Maka demikian lagi taufik dan hidayat, erti-nya tunjokan  
276 betul dan menunjokkan kepada yang betul itu pada 'ulama  
shari'at sifat fi'l, erti-nya peri mengadakan perbuatan  
sa-suatu. [Maka sifat fi'l itu] ada 'ain-nya dan ada  
ghair-nya, erti-nya ada persatuan-nya dan ada tiada  
persatuan-nya, maka di-keraskan merēka itu pada i'tikad  
merēka itu, yang tiada persatuan-nya jua. Ada pun taufik  
dan hidayat itu pada 'ulama hakikat sifat fi'l maka sifat  
277 fi'l itu dengan dhat 'ain tiada ghair, erti-nya suatu jua,  
tiada lain pada wujud-nya dan pada hakikat-nya dengan dhat.

Maka dari karena ini-lah ikhtilaf, erti-nya bersalahan  
antara 'ulama shari'at dan 'ulama hakikat, dan dari karena  
tiada 'ulama shari'at itu berolēh karunia Allah ta'ala nur  
kashif dan taufik, dan dari karena tiada merēka itu berolēh  
278 jalan sirat mustakim, erti-nya jalan Allah yang betul pada  
menjama'kan, erti-nya menghimpunkan antara shari'at dan



hakikat itu, dan tiada merēka itu berolēh jalan tarakki,  
 erti-nya naik, ya'ni jalan naik kapada kurb yang hakiki dan  
 wasil yang hakiki dan jama' yang hakiki itu, ya'ni damping  
 279 yang sa-benar-nya kapada Allah ta'ala dan berhimpun dan  
 bersuatu yang sa-benar-benar-nya dengan Allah ta'ala.

Ada pun wahy, erti-nya firman Allah ta'ala pada ahlu  
 Allah terbahagi kapada dua bahagi; suatu wahy murāsalah  
 nama-nya, erti-nya firman Allah ta'ala yang di-titahkan mala'  
 ikat, 'alaihimi al-salam, menyampaikan dia kapada sa-tengah  
 daripada segala nabi Allah yang mursal - alaihimi al-salam, -  
 280 dan kapada nabi kita Muhammad s.a.w. | Kedua wahy mushāfahah  
 nama-nya, erti-nya firman Allah yang sendiri Allah ta'ala  
 tajalli berfirman sampai kapada rahsia nabi kita nabi  
 Muhammad rasul Allah s.a.w. dan sampai kapada rahsia nabi  
 Allah yang mursal- 'alaihimi al-salam, - dan sampai kapada  
 rahsia segala wali Allah, radi'a Allah 'anhum dan segala  
 'arif yang kamil mukammal. Wa'Allah a'lam. Tammam.



Tract 13. MS p. 261-280

This tract is an explanation of the descent of the Pure Light of God upon man. The gnostic should understand this phenomenon thoroughly in order perfect his knowledge of Almighty God, of Muhammad, the apostle of God and of his own self so that he be safeguarded from all illusions and that God increase the clarity of his gnosis, (and perfect) his declaration of faith and true submission in this ~~and this~~ and the world to come while bestowing upon him mercies beyond the enumeration of His creatures.

The Pure Light of God is the Absolute Being of God, and because God's Absolute Being became manifest, man and all the worlds were manifested, and are thus named the Pure Light of God. But because man and all the worlds are manifested from the Absolute Being of God, for this reason they are (also) called the Absolute Being of God.

Whenever Almighty God wishes to reveal His Absolute Being and Pure Light to anyone of His special servants His Pure Light descends to that chosen soul. At that grade it is called the Revealing Light (Nūr Kāshif) which means the light that lifts the veils concealing His Absolute Being, for according to the Sūfīs Pure Light is a name of Essence of Almighty God and Revealing Light is a name of an attribute of the Essence i.e. a



name denoting a quality of His Essence which subsists in it.

When God wishes to manifest a resting place of His Absolute Being and Pure Light to anyone of His special servants, the Revealing Light descends to the heart of that servant, and at that grade is called Divine Help (Taufik) and Guidance (Hidāyat), which according to the Sūfīs are names of attributes that denote activity. It is through the bounty of God which has bestowed Revealing Light upon the chosen servant that the Absolute Being of God is manifested to him, and it is likewise through this bounty that has bestowed upon him Divine Help and Guidance that every abode of God's Being in the world is revealed to him.<sup>1)</sup>

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- 1) This seems a bland way of expressing the same thought of the Persian poet Bābā Kūhī of Shirāz d. 1050 A.D.

"In the market, in the cloister - only God I saw  
 In the valley and on the mountain - only God I saw.  
 Him I have seen beside me oft in tribulation;  
 In favour and in fortune - only God I saw.  
 In prayer and fasting, in praise and contemplation,  
 In the religion of the Prophet - only God I saw.  
 Neither soul nor body, accident nor substance,  
 Qualities nor causes - only God I saw.  
 I oped mine eyes and by the light of His face around me  
 In all the eye discovered - only God I saw.  
 Like a candle I was melting in His fire:  
 Amidst the flames outflashing - only God I saw.  
 Myself with mine own eyes I saw most clearly,  
 But when I looked with God's eyes - only God I saw.  
 I passed away into nothingness, I vanished,  
 And lo, I was the All-living - only God I saw."

Quoted in Nicholson: The Mystics of Islam. p. 58.



According to the Doctors of the Law absolute Being and Pure Light are names of the Essence of Almighty God. Now these names have aspects of identity ('ayn) and otherness (ghair) but the Doctors of the Law, with the utmost force assert only the aspect of non-identity. According to the Ṣūfī doctors however, Absolute Being and Pure Light are names of the Essence of God, and are identical with It, not other than It, and in point of their being and inner reality are not other than the Essence.

Similarly, according to the Doctors of the Law the Revealing Light is an attribute of the Essence. Now these attributes have aspects of identity and otherness but the doctors of the Law, with the utmost force assert only the aspect of non-identity.

According to the Ṣūfī doctors however, an attribute of the essence is identical with it, not other than it, and in point of its being and inner reality is not other than the Essence.

Likewise according to the Doctors of the Law, Divine Help and Guidance are attributes denoting acts. Now these attributes denoting acts have aspects of identity and otherness, but the doctors of the Law, with the utmost force, assert only the aspect of non-identity. According to the Ṣūfī doctors, however, Divine Help and Guidance are attributes denoting acts and are identical with the



Essence, not other than it, and in point of their being and inner reality are not other than the Essence.

On this account there has been a difference between the Doctors of Law and the Ṣūfī doctors, for the Doctors of Law have not received the gift of the Revealing Light and Divine Help, nor have they obtained a right path to the combining of the Law and its deeper meaning. Moreover they have not a path to lead them up to a true closeness to Almighty God, or a true attainment to and union with Him.

Revelation is divided into two kinds. One is called Murāsalah and that is the message that angels - on whom be peace - have been ordered to deliver some of the prophets God has sent and to the Prophet Muḥammad. The second is called Mushāfaha and is what God Himself revealed in the innermost soul of our prophet Muḥammad and the souls of all the prophets He has sent - upon whom be peace - and which He reveals in the souls of all Saints of God and all gnostics who have achieved Perfect Knowledge.



Tract XIV Ms. p.281-287

281 Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmāni 'l-Rahīm - Dengan nama Allah jua  
aku memulai memacha perkataan ini, Yang amat murah dalam  
negeri dunia ini lagi yang amat mengasiani hamba-nya mu'min  
dalam negeri akhirat itu. Al-hamdu li'llāhi waḥdahu -

Segala puji-pujian bagi Allah, Tuhan yang esa ka-esaan-nya;  
282 wa'l-salātu wa'l-salāmu 'alā man lā nabiyya ba'dahu - dan  
rahmat Allah dan salam-nya atas nabi Allah yang tiada nabi  
kemudian-nya. Wa ba'du ada pun kemudian dari itu maka ini  
perkataan pada menyatakan azal Allah, erti-nya mula pertama  
nyata Allah ta'ala, dan abad Allah, erti-nya kesudahan nyata  
Allah ta'ala; dan perkataan azal makhlok, erti-nya mula  
pertama nyata makhlok dan abad makhlok, erti-nya kesudahan  
283 nyata makhlok.

Bahawa azal Allah itu pada mertabat ta'ayyun awwal,  
erti-nya <sup>nyata</sup> ~~nyata~~ yang pertama yang bernama wahdat, erti-nya  
punya esa. Maka pada mertabat wahdat itu yang nyata dhat  
Allah ta'ala dan wujud Allah ta'ala yang mutlak dan nyata  
sifat Allah dan asma' Allah yang mutlak bernama dengan nama  
Allah, ia-itu-lah bernama azal Allah; dan pada mertabat  
284 wahdat itu yang nyata nabi Muhammad s.a.w. bernama Hurūf  
'Aliyāt, erti-nya akshara yang maha tinggi, ia-itu-lah bernama  
azal makhlok, ya'ni azal nabi Muhammad rasul Allah s.a.w.

Maka pada mertabat wahidiat, erti-nya yang esa, maka  
pada mertabat itu yang nyata dalam-nya dhat Allah dan wujud



285 Allah ta'ala yang mutlak bernama dengan nama Rahman,  
 ia-itu-lah bernama abad Allah ta'ala, dan pada mertabat itu  
 yang nyata dalam-nya a'yan thabitah, erti-nya segala keadaan  
 yang tetap dalam 'ilmu Allah, ia-itu bernama azal makhlok.  
 Sa-telah nyata-lah azal Allah dan abad Allah itu, maka azal  
 286 makhlok yang nabi Muhammad s.a.w. dan azal makhlok yang kita  
 sakalian ini, maka azal nabi Muhammad s.a.w. pada mertabat  
 wahdat dan yang azal kita sakalian nyata-nya pada mertabat  
 wahdiat.

Ada pun abad nabi Muhammad s.a.w. yang nyata batang  
 tuboh yang mulia itu di Makkat Allah dan di-Medinah rasul  
 Allah itu, dan abad kita sakalian makhlok yang nyata batang  
 287 tuboh kita ini sakalian. Ada pun perkataan ini daripada  
 tasdik dan i'tikad ahlu 'lillah yang kamil mukammal. Wa'llah  
 a'lam.



Tract 14 MS p. 281-287

This tract deals with the pre-eternity of God (azal) and His post-eternity (abad), the pre-eternity of of creation and its post eternity. The pre-eternity of God is at the grade of the first determination, which is called Wahda, for at this grade God's Essence , Absolute Being, Attributes and Names are manifested under the name Allāh - this is what is called the pre-eternity of God. And at the grade of Wahda also is manifested the prophet Muḥammad under the name Hurūf 'aliyāt and this is known as the pre-eternity of creation, or in other words the pre-eternity of the Prophet Muḥammad the Apostle of God.

At the grade of Wāhidiyya is manifested the Essence and Absolute Being of God under the name the Merciful (Rahmān). This is known as the post-eternity of God, and in it are manifested the Fixed Essences, which are known as the pre-eternity of the world.

After the pre-eternity and post-eternity of God had become manifest, the pre-eternity of creation which is the prophet Muḥammad and the pre-eternity of creation which is ourselves was manifested; as to the pre-eternity of the prophet Muḥammad, it is at the grade of Wahda, and that of ourselves is at the grade of Wāhidiyya. The post-eternity of Muḥammad was revealed in his noble body at Mecca (the City of God?) and at ~~the~~ Medina (the City



of the Apostle?) and our post-eternity is revealed in our bodies.

This teaching is attested and believed by the men of God who have attained a knowledge that is perfect. God Knoweth Best.



Tract XV Ms. p.289-292

- 289 Bismillāhi<sup>1</sup>l-Rahmāni<sup>1</sup>l-Rahīm - Ketahuī hai talib Hakk, -  
 di-tunjoki Allah ta'ala kira-nya jalan kapada-nya yang  
 sempurna itu, - bahawa sa-nya segala yang memasoki jalan  
 kapada Hakk, hendak-lah di-ketahuī-nya dan di-kenal-nya apa  
 jua yang menindingi dia kapada Hakk ta'ala, dan mana yang  
 di-namai ghaib-nya daripada Hakk ta'ala, dan <sup>mana</sup> ~~aman~~ yang  
 290 di-namai mushahadah-nya kapada Hakk ta'ala dan <sup>mana</sup> ~~aman~~ yang  
 di-namai hadir-nya dengan Hakk ta'ala dan mana yang di-namai  
 wasil-nya kapada Hakk ta'ala. Ada pun yang ghaib-nya  
 daripada Hakk ta'ala itu wujud-nya itu-lah jua, dan  
 mushahadah-nya kapada Hakk ta'ala itu ghaib-nya itu-lah jua,  
 dan hadir-nya dengan Hakk ta'ala itu ghaib-nya daripada  
 291 mushahadah-nya itu-lah jua, dan wasil-nya kapada Hakk ta'ala  
 itu fana<sup>1</sup> -lah ia daripada wujud diri-nya, saperti kata Shaikh  
 Ma'rūf al-Karkhī radiya<sup>1</sup>llāhu 'anhu: Lā hijābaka illā  
wujūduka, erti-nya: Tiada dinding-mu hanya ada-mu jua;  
 wa lā ghaibaka illā shuhūduka - dan tiada terbuni-mya hanya  
 292 kelihatan-mu jua: Fa'ghib 'ani<sup>1</sup>l-shuhūdi takun hādīran -  
 292 Maka ghaibkan diri-mu daripada yang nyata itu, neschaya  
 hadir-lah engkau dengan Dia; fa'fni 'ani<sup>1</sup>l-wujūdi takun  
wāṣīlan - dan fanakan diri-mu daripada ada-mu itu, neschaya  
 ada-lah engkau wasil kapada-nya. Wa'llah a'lam. Tammāt.

1) d.815. cp. Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the India Office Library Vol. I. p.277.



Tract 15. MS p. 289-292

Know, Oh Seeker of God - may He grant you a perfect path to Him - that all who enter upon that path must know everything that conceals them from Him. They must also know what is named their separation from Him and their contemplation of Him, what constitutes their presence with Him and their attainment to Him.

What separates a man from Almighty God is his own being, and contemplation (in which an element of the self remains) implies only absence from Him. So that what constitutes his presence with Almighty God is the elimination of that contemplation, and what constitutes attainment to God is oblivion of his own existence. As Shāikh Ma'rūf al-Karkhī said: It is only your own being that hides you from Him, and : You are only absent when you think you are present. If you rid yourself of the vision (in which an element of yourself remains) then you will be present with Him, and if you are dead your own being, then you will have attained to Him.



Tract XVI. Ms. p.293-295

- 293 Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmāni 'l-Rahīm. Al-hamdu li 'llāhi  
wahdahū, wa'l-salātu wa'l-salamu 'alā man lā nabiyya ba'dahu.  
 Wa ba'du ada pun kemudian dari itu, maka ini nukil pada  
 menyatakan fayḍ. Bahawa fayḍ itu pada bahasa 'Arab, erti-nya  
 lēmpah sa-suatu kapada sa-suatu, ya'ni lēmpah nyata sa-suatu  
 294 kapada sa-suatu yang lain-nya, erti-nya lēmpah chahaya  
 matahari dari-pada dhat dir-nya kapada dhat 'alam dunia  
 sakalian.

- Maka kehendak fayḍ pada kata ahlu' llah itu dua  
 mertabat, suatu fayḍ akdas nama-nya, erti-nya lēmpah yang  
 terlebēh suchi, kedua fayḍ mukaddas nama-nya, erti-nya  
 lēmpah yang di-suchikan. Maka mertabat fayḍ akdas itu  
 295 mertabat wahdat, nyata-nya kapada mertabat wahidiat dan  
 mertabat fayḍ mukaddas itu mertabat wahidiat, nyata-nya  
 kapada kharijah, erti-nya yang di-luar 'ilmu. Maka fayḍ  
akdas itu nyata Allah s.w.t. pada mertabat wahdat lalu  
 296 kapada mertabat wahidiat lalu kapada a'yan kharjiah yang  
 di-luar 'ilmu ini.<sup>1)</sup> Wa 'llah a'lam. Tammāt.

1) cp. Van Nieuwenhuize op. cit. p.253 l.6-8, the sense of which this tract is a paraphrase. Shamsu'l-Dīns definition of these two grades of fayḍ is in fact al-~~ur~~ Jurjānī's in the Kitāb ta'rifat which must therefore have been known in Aceh. cp. translation, note 1.

1 dan fayḍ mukaddas itu nyata Allah s.w.t. pada mertabat wahidiat



Tract 16. MS p. 293-295

This tract is a short explanation of Fayd. Fayd is an Arabic word and it signifies the overflowing of something on to something other than itself, as for example the overflowing of the light of the sun from its own essence to that of the world.

According<sup>to</sup> the men of God there are two grades of fayd. The first is called The Most Holy Emanation (Fayd akdas), and the second The Holy Emanation (Fayd mukaddas). The grade of the most holy emanation is Wahda, and its manifestation is towards Wahidiyya. That of the holy emanation is Wahidiyya, and its manifestation is to the Exterior Essences. The Most Holy Emanation is a revelation of Almighty God at the grade of Wahda that descends to the grade of Wahidiyya, and The Holy Emanation is a manifestation of Almighty God at the grade of Wahidiyya that descends to the Exterior Essences.<sup>1)</sup> God knoweth best.

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1) cp. al-Jurjānī op. cit. p. 176. : The Most Holy Emanation signifies the manifestation of the names which necessitate the appearance of what the potentialities of these essences require externally, and the Holy Emanation is subsequent to it. By the former are produced the Fixed Essences and their original potentialities in the Divine knowledge, and by the second are produced those essences outside with whatever coheres with them and what follows them. See also Nicholson op.cit. p. 155 footnote 2.



Tract XVII Ms. p.297-310.

- 297 Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmān<sup>1)</sup> 'l-Rahīm - Ketahui, hai talib  
Hakk, bahawa sa-nya Hakk ta'ala nyata pada segala 'alam  
sakalian dengan sempurna nyata-nya, seperti kata Shaikh  
(Abdūl-Rahmān Jāmī<sup>1)</sup>) radiyā 'llāhu 'anhu: Inna 'l-Hakka  
s.w.t. azharu min al-shams, erti-nya: Bahawa sa-nya Hakk  
298 s.w.t. terlebēh nyata daripada mata hari, ya'ni jika Hakk  
ta'ala terlebēh nyata daripada matahari, neschaya ta'dapat  
tiada<sup>ada</sup> tertilēk olēh yang menilēk, dan terlihat olēh yang  
melihat, dan terpandang olēh yang memandang, karena tiada  
jua tilēk yang menilēk kapada sa-suatu daripada 'alam, dan  
penglihat yang melihat kapada sa-suatu daripada 'alam dan  
299 pandang yang memandang kapada sa-suatu daripada 'alam hanya  
tertilēk-nya dan terlihat-nya dan terpandang-nya Hakk ta'ala  
dengan mata hati-nya dalam dunia ini pada sa-suatu daripada  
'alam itu. Tetapi daripada bebal-nya akan Hakk ta'ala dan  
daripada lain-nya akan Hakk ta'ala dan daripada sesat-nya,  
tiada mengenal Hakk ta'ala maka tiada di-ketahui-nya akan  
300 diri-nya menilēk dan melihat dan memandang Hakk ta'ala pada  
sa-suatu daripada 'alam yang di-lihat-nya itu, dan pada  
sa-suatu daripada 'alam yang di-tilēk-nya itu, dan pada  
sa-suatu daripada 'alam yang di-pandang-nya itu.

Maka tilēk 'arif yang kamil mukammal akan Hakk ta'ala

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1) d.1492 cp. Brockelmann G.II p.207



pada sa-suatu daripada 'alam itu, dan penglihat-nya akan Hakk ta'ala pada sa-suatu daripada 'alam itu, dan pandang-nya  
 301 akan Hakk ta'ala pada sa-suatu daripada 'alam itu dengan tiada hulūl, erti-nya dengan tiada masok Hakk ta'ala kapada 'alam dan dengan tiada ittihād, erti-nya dengan tiada bersuatu Hakk ta'ala dengan 'alam dan dengan tiada dukhūl, erti-nya dengan tiada masok Hakk ta'ala kapada 'alam dan dengan tiada  
 302 khurūj, erti-nya dengan tiada keluar Hakk ta'ala daripada 'alam dan dengan tiada infisāl, erti-nya dengan tiada bercherai Hakk ta'ala daripada 'alam, dan dengan tiada ittisāl, erti-nya dengan tiada bertemu Hakk ta'ala dengan 'alam, maka Hakk ta'ala Hakk ta'ala jua, dan 'alam 'alam jua.

Ada pun nyata Hakk ta'ala yang tertilēk dan terlihat dan  
 303 terpandang sa-sa-orang 'arif yang kamil mukammal dengan mata hati-nya dalam dunia ini dengan tajalli iradat Hakk ta'ala hendak menyatakan diri-nya kapada-nya. Apabila Hakk ta'ala hendak ngaruniaif hamba-nya sa-sa-orang 'arif yang kamil mukammal itu bertunjokkan tajalli dhat-nya kapada-nya, maka tajalli Hakk ta'ala dengan sifat iradat-nya menyatakan dhat-nya kapada-nya. Maka berolēh jalan-lah 'arif yang kamil mukammal  
 304 itu kapada-nya dengan menafikan<sup>1)</sup> segala dhat yang lain daripada dhat Hakk ta'ala dan di-ithbatkan-nya dhat Hakk ta'ala, maka laku yang menerima tajalli ini membawa nafi ithbat yang menafikan dhat segala makhlok dan yang mengithbatkan dhat Hakk ta'ala shahadan di-pandang-nya dengan mata hati-nya

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1) Ms. me~~n~~fanakan.



305 dalam dunia ini nyata dhat Hakk ta'ala yang tajalli itu.

Maka jika 'arif yang kamil itu memandang kapada sa-sa-orang daripada segala manusia atau kapada sa-suatu shai yang lain-nya, maka jika ia hendak memandang kapada hayat Allah ta'ala maka di-pandang-nya kapada keadaan shai itu, maka keadaan shai itu menyatakan hayat Allah ta'ala, dan jika ia  
306 hendak memandang sifat 'ilmu Allah ta'ala maka memandang ia kapada keadaan shai itu pada pēhak nyata-nya itu athar 'ilmu Allah ta'ala yang ka'im pada dhat-nya dan wujud-nya.

Dan jika ia hendak memandang sifat iradat Allah ta'ala maka ia memandang kapada keadaan shai itu daripada pēhak nyata ketentuan-nya, upama laki-laki tiada perempuan, dan upama baik tiada jahat, dan upama bahagia tiada chelaka dan  
307 upama nyata-nya pada sa-suatu ketika tiada pada sa-suatu ketika, maka ketentuan yang tersebut itu athar iradat Allah ta'ala yang ka'im pada dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya.

Dan jika ia hendak memandang sifat kudrat Allah ta'ala, maka memandang ia kapada keadaan shai itu daripada pēhak  
308 nyata-nya daripada batin-nya kapada dzahir-nya, ya'ni daripada a'yan thabitah-nya kapada a'yan kharijiah-nya. Maka nyata-nya daripada batin-nya kapada dzahir-nya itu athar kudrat Allah ta'ala yang ka'im pada dhat Allah ta'ala dan wujud-nya.

Dan jika ia hendak memandang kapada sifat sam'a Allah ta'ala dan sifat basar Allah ta'ala, maka ia memandang kapada keadaan shai itu daripada pēhak nyata-nya daripada



309 batin-nya kapada <sup>3</sup>dahir-nya yang athar kudrat Allah ta'ala  
yang 'ain - ya'ni tiada lain - dengan athar sifat sam'a  
Allah ta'ala dan dengan athar sifat besar Allah ta'ala  
yang ka'im pada dhat-nya dan wujud-nya.

Dan jika ia hendak memandang sifat kalam Allah ta'ala  
maka memandang ia kapada keadaan shai itu daripada pēhak  
nyata-nya daripada batin-nya kapada dzahir-nya,<sup>1)</sup> ya'ni  
310 sifat kamil itu netiasa menghadapkan chita-nya kapada wajah  
Allah yang nyata pada wujud mumkin al-wujud ini. Maka ia  
berolēh jalan wasil kapada Allah ta'ala pun daripada  
wasil-nya kapada wajah Allah itu jua.

Tamat.

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1) lacuna.



Tract 17. MS p. 297-310

Know, Oh Seeker of God, that He is perfectly manifest in this world; as Shaikh <sup>al-</sup>Abd Rahmān Jāmī<sup>1)</sup> said: Truly God is more manifest than the sun, in which case He is certain to be perceived by a perceiver, seen by a seer and contemplated by one who contemplates, for no one perceives sees or contemplates anything in this world without perceiving seeing or contemplating Almighty God in it with the eyes of his heart. But so foolish is he where God is concerned, - so different is he in regard to Him, and misguided, that he does not recognise Him; that is why he does not realise that he perceives, sees and contemplates Him in everything in this world.

The perception vision and contemplation of the gnostic who has attained a perfect knowledge of the Almighty God, finds Him in everything in the world, but without indwelling (ḥulūl) or identification (ittihād) or penetration (dukhūl) or departing (khurūj) or separation (infisāl) or coming together (ittisāl) for God is God, and the world is the world.

The manifestation of God that one who has achieved perfect knowledge perceives sees and contemplates in this world is (given) through a manifestation of the will of



God to reveal Himself to him. When God wishes to bestow upon one of His servants who has Perfect Knowledge the favour of revealing His Essence to Him, then He reveals Himself by means of His Attribute of Will, manifesting His Essence to him. It is then that the gnostic who has perfect knowledge obtains a path to Him by denying all other Essences and affirming that of God, for the way to receive this revelation is to make this denial and affirmation, denying the essence of created things, and affirming that of God. It is then that the gnostic contemplates with the eye of his heart in this world the Essence of God revealed in created things.

= If then the perfect gnostic contemplates anyone of mankind or anything else, wishing to see God's attribute of Life in it, he contemplates that thing, and it reveals His life. If he wishes to see God's attribute of Knowledge, then he considers it being manifested as the effect of God's Knowledge which subsists in His Essence and Being.

If he wishes to see God's attribute of Will then he considers a thing from the standpoint of its manifestation as a determinate reality viz. that a man is a man, and not a woman, that good is good and not evil, that good fortune is not a mishap and that a thing is manifested at one moment and not at another - this determinateness



is an effect of God's Will, which subsists in His Essence and Being.

If he wishes to see God's attribute of Power (in a thing) then he considers the being of that thing as brought from hiddenness to manifestness, from its Fixed Essences to its Exterior Essences, for this is an effect of God's Power, which subsists in His Essence and Being.

If he wishes to see God's attributes of Hearing and Sight, (in a thing) then he considers it as brought from hiddenness to manifestness which is an effect of the attribute of Power; for this attribute which identical with those of Sight and Hearing, which subsist in His Essence and Being.<sup>1)</sup>

If he wishes to see God's attribute of Speech, then he looks upon the being of a thing as brought from hiddenness to manifestness.....<sup>2)</sup>

The characteristic of the Perfect Man is that he keeps his attention fixed upon the face of God revealed in this contingent world (wujūd mumkin); then he attains to God Himself by virtue of attainment to His countenance.

1) cp. Chapter 1 p. 44

2) Lacuna in text.



Tract XVIII Ms. p.311-325

311 Bismillāhi 'l-Rahmāni 'l-Rahīm. Ada pun 'arif rabbani,  
erti-nya orang yang mengenal Tuhan yang sa-benar-nya itu,  
netiasa ia dalam Dhikr-nya, erti-nya netiasa ia menyedar  
wahdat al-wujud, erti-nya ke-esaan wujud Allah ta'ala, dengan  
mata hati-nya; dan netiasa ia dalam Murakabah-nya, erti-nya  
312 netiasa ia tiada lalai daripada ingat-nya akan wahdat al-wujud,  
dan netiasa ia dalam ~~44~~ tawajjuh-nya, erti-nya dalam  
mengadapkan mata hati-nya kapada wahdat al-wujud itu, dan  
netiasa ia dalam Mushahadah-nya, erti-nya netiasa ia memandang  
dengan mata hati-nya kapada wahdat al-wujud itu.

Maka dhikr dengan Lā ilāha illā 'llāh itu anak kunchi  
313 pintu hati dan batu berani hati dan kut<sup>1)</sup> hati; dan dhikr  
dengan Allah, Allah itu anak kunchi pintu nyawa dan batu  
berani nyawa dan kut nyawa; dan dhikr dengan Huwa, Huwa, itu  
anak kunchi pintu rahsia dan batu berani rahsia dan kut  
rahsia. Maka sa-yogia-nya atas yang mengerjakan perkerjaan  
314 dhikr itu dengan di-terbitkan-nya pada chita-nya kalimah Lā  
ilāha itu dari bawah pusat-nya, dan di-palukan-nya dengan  
chita-nya kalimah illā 'llāh itu ka-atas dada-nya hingga  
berhubong-lah bekas dhikr itu dengan segala anggota-nya, dan  
tetap-lah ia dalam-nya, dan berkekalan-lah ia dengan dia  
sa-hingga terpandang-nya wujud Allah ta'ala itu, insha' a  
'llāh ta'ala.

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1) Interlinear translation: makanan.



315 Bermula, isharat dhikr itu: jika berkehendak engkau membawa dhikr dengan lidah-mu Lā ilāha illā 'llāh dan kau-  
ingatkan dalam hati-mu ma'na nafi ithbat yang di-maksudkan  
ahlu 'l-hakikat, ia-itu ma'na nafi dengan kau-nafikan anniat  
wujud-mu yang <hakiki> wahmi itu beserta dengan anniat  
ta'ayyun-mu yang majazi wahmi ini dengan kau-taswirkan dalam  
316 hati-mu: tiada wujud-ku, dan dengan ma'na ithbat itu kau-  
ithbatkan dalam hati-mu wujud Allah ta'ala yang mutlak dengan  
kau-taswirkan dalam-nya illā 'llāh.<sup>1)</sup>

Sa-bermula jika berkehendak engkau membawa dhikr dengan  
hati-mu Allah Allah, maka ingatkan olēh-mu ma'na ithbat yang  
tersebut itu dan netiasa engkau menafikan<sup>2)</sup> segala dhat yang  
317 lain daripada dhat Allah ta'ala dan kau-ithbatkan dhat Allah  
ta'ala yang bernama Allah itu, dan kau-sebut<sup>2</sup> dan kau-pandang  
akan dia dengan mata hati-mu dalam dar al-dunia ini.

Sa-bermula jika berkehendak engkau membawa dhikr dengan  
rahsia-mu Huwa Huwa maka ingatkan olēh-mu ma'na ithbat yang  
318 tersebut itu jua pada rahsia-mu pada tiap<sup>2</sup> ketika, dan pada  
tiap<sup>2</sup> nafas-mu yang keluar masok itu.<sup>3)</sup>

Ada pun Murakabah itu, ia-itu yang berpaling daripada

1) This paragraph is a quotation from Shamsu 'l-Dīn's Jauhar al-hakā'ik cp. Van Nieuwenhuize op. cit. p.262 l.10-12.

2) Ms. menfanakan.

3) cp. Van Nieuwenhuize op. cit. p.312



yang lain daripada Allah ta'ala dan yang mengingati wujud Allah ta'ala dengan mata hati-nya, dan hendak-lah di-tilēk-nya Hakk ta'ala dengan mata hati-nya itu pada segala pangkat 'alam  
 319 ya'ni pada pangkat 'alam shahidi daripada 'alam kabir dan 'alam saghir, dan pada pangkat 'alam mithal dan pada pangkat 'alam arwah dan pada pangkat 'alam ma'ani - ya'ni alam a'yan thabitah - dengan rupa yang munasabat pada 'alam itu, dengan sa-kira-kira nyata pada segala rupa 'alam itu wajh Allah, ya'ni wujud Allah ta'ala yang di-ibaratkan segala  
 320 muhakkik daripada wujud rupa yang nyata pada segala perkara itu sakalian-nya, karena yang dzahir segala perkara itu tiada ada ia, hanya dzahir wujud Hakk ta'ala yang berwarna dengan warna segala hukum a'yan thabitah yang batin wujud Hakk ta'ala itu. Maka a'yan thabitah itu tiada ada ia, hanya rupa shu'un dhat Hakk ta'ala jua. Maka shu'un itu pada  
 321 mertabat ahadiat dan ghaib huwiat keadaan dhat Hakk ta'ala jua.

Bermula isharat Murakabah itu di-fanakan anniat wujud diri itu pertama-nya, ia-itu yang di-rachanakan daripada ada batin diri itu lain daripada Hakk ta'ala. Maka ia itu-lah ma'na Lā ilāha itu, dan di-ithbatkan wujud Hakk ta'ala dalam hati, kedua kali-nya, maka ia-itu-lah ma'na illā 'llāh itu.  
 322 Shahadan netiasa.....<sup>1)</sup> diri-mu itu. Bermula isharat Mushahadah yang dalam diri itu-ya'ni yang dalam sa-benar<sub>2</sub>

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1) Lacuna.



diri itu, ia-itu barang yang ada ia kemudian daripada kau-tahkikkan 'ain thabitah-mu itu dan kau-suatukan 'ain kharijiah-mu ini dengan 'ain thabitah-mu itu. Apabila tahkik-lah dan suatu-lah kedua-nya itu, maka jadi-lah 'ain kharijiah-mu ini 'ain thabitah-mu, tiada lagi bēdza antara kedua-nya pada-mu maka tatkala itu kau-pandang-lah kepada wujud Hakk ta'ala dalam diri-mu dzahir yang jadi diri-mu batin itu seperti kau-pandang diri-mu dzahir ini, karena diri-mu dzahir yang suatu dengan 'ain thabitah-mu yang batin itu, tatkala itu rupa wujud Hakk ta'ala yang dalam dhat, ia-itu rupa-nya yang nyata itu, dan ada bagi-nya nyawa, ia-itu yang mengerakkan dan yang mendiamkan harakat sukun tuboh itu, dan ada bagi-nya rahsia ia-itu yang merēntahkan nyawa-nya itu, dan ada bagi-nya wajh yang di-rachanakan ahlu 'illah dengan wajh Allah itu, erti-nya keadaan Allah ta'ala yang nyata pada sa-suatu daripada segala perkara ini, dan pada sa-sa-orang daripada segala manusia ini. Maka wajh Allah ta'ala yang nyata pada segala 'alam sakalian-nya, maka wujud Allah ta'ala yang nyata itu-lah wujud sakalian 'alam dan wujud kita sakalian karena firman Allah ta'ala: Fa'inamā tuwallū fa thamma wajhu 1))llāh, erti-nya: Barang ka-mana kamu berhadap maka di-sana ada Allah ta'ala. Maka 'arif yang.....<sup>2)</sup>

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1) Kur. 2:115

2) Text ends.



Tract 18 MS p. 311-325

The true gnostic constantly perseveres in Recollection (Dhikr), which is continual awareness of the Unity of Being, i.e. of the being of God, with the eye of his heart; in Observation (Murākabah) which is to have that unity always present in his mind; in Concentration (Tawajjuh) which is the constant direction of the eye of his heart towards it, and Contemplation (Mushāhadah) which is the constant gazing on that unity with the eye of the heart.

The recitation of Lā ilāha illā'llāh is the key to the door of the heart, (hati) its lodestone and nourishment, the recitation of Allāh Allāh is the key to the door of the soul (nyawa) its lodestone and nourishment; and the recitation of Huwa Huwa is the key to the door of the innermost spirit, its lodestone and nourishment. One who practises Dhikr should do it in this way, that he makes lā ilāhā come up from below his navel and must beat his breast with a mental picture of illā'llāh in such a way that the effect of the Dhikr becomes joined to all his limbs, and fixed firmly within him so that he contemplates the Being of God - if God so will.

The directions for recitation are as follows: if you wish to make a recitation with your tongue of Lā ilāha illā'llāh, then bear in mind the significance of the



negation (nafy) and affirmation (ithbāt) as meant by Ṣūfī doctors i.e. that you deny the individuality of your own being which is illusory, and of your own determination which is (likewise) relative and unreal, at the same time visualising in your heart the words: I have no being; and that you affirm in your heart the absolute being of God by visualising in it 'illā'llāh.

If you wish to make a recitation in your heart of Allāh Allāh then think continually of the meaning of this affirmation. Persevere in denying every essence other than that of God and affirm His essence under the name Allāh; go on reciting His name and contemplate Him with the eye of your heart in this world.

If you wish to make a recitation in your innermost spirit of Huwa Huwa, then think constantly of the meaning of this affirmation in your innermost spirit at every moment and at every breath you take.

As for Observation (Murākabah) it is the turning aside from everything other than God and a mindfulness of His Being with eye of the heart so that you see Him in all the worlds - i.e. in the visible world ('ālam shāhidī) both the microcosmos and the macrocosmos, the World of Ideas, the World of Spirits and the World of 'realities' i.e. the Fixed Essences, in proportion to the revelation of God's face in all these worlds. For this is none other



than the being of God, which, as those deeply versed in these matters explain is the being of the forms of all entities, for these external forms do not exist in their own right, but are the outward forms of God's Being which have taken the shape of the ideal forms of the Fixed Essences which are God's inner Being.

Neither do the fixed ~~/~~ Essences exist in their own right but are only the forms of the Conditions of the Essence which are at the grade of Ahadiyya and the hidden identity of the Being of His Essence.<sup>1)</sup>

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1) The remainder of the text is incomplete, is mared by a lacuna and appears corrupt. cp. p. 64 note one



## APPENDIX

1. The opening passage of Fadl Allāh's Tuhfa al-mursala ilā' l-nabī.
2. The emanation system according to Shamsu'l-Dīn's Nūr al-Dakā'ik.
3. The emanation system according to a Javanese text quoted by P. J. Zoetmulder in his Pantheisme en Monisme in de Javaansche Soeloek Literatuur.
4. The emanation system according to Hamzah.
5. Al-Rānīrī versus the Wujūdiyya.
6. The passages from Marsden 11648 translated by Marsden in his dictionary.



## Appendix

From Faḍl Allāh's Tuhfa al Mursala ilāʾl-nabi (Leiden  
MS Cod. Or. 5690 f. 96r)

Know, oh my brothers, may God grant happiness to you and us, that God, may He be praised and exalted, is Being, and that that being is without shape or limit, and is infinite. But at the same time He appears and reveals Himself as having shape and limits without changing as regards His lack of shape and limit - on the contrary He is now as He was. Truly Being is one, and manifold only in its vesture: but this Being is the reality (hakika) of all beings, and their innermost essence. No existent, even to an atom is without it. This Being, moreover is not being which is to be realised (tahakkuk) or achieved (husul), since these refer to two mental concepts which have no external existence, and the term being in this sense cannot be applied to the Truth (al-Hakk) who exists eternally - exalted above this is His loftiness and greatness. We mean by Being here the reality to which these attributes apply - I mean its existence in itself and by itself, and the existence of other things through it, and the non-existence of other things outside.

That Being, in respect of its Essence is not revealed to anyone: neither intellect, nor imagination nor the



senses can attain it, nor can a knowledge of it derived from analogy, for all these things are created, and what is created can only perceive the essence of the created.

His Essence and attributes are exalted above all createdness in their greatness and loftiness. And one who desires a knowledge of Him from this aspect, and strives for it (by these created means) wastes his time.

This Being has many grades, and the first of them is that of non-determination, absoluteness and the Pure Essence, not in the sense that the limitation inhering in the term absolute and the implication of non-determination inhere in that grade, but in the sense that Being at that grade is free from the predication of any adjective or attribute, and is above every limitation, even that of absoluteness; and this grade is called Ahadiyya, and is the innermost Essence of Almighty God. There is no grade above, all grades are below it. The second grade is that of the first determination which signifies God's knowledge of His Essence, attributes and all existents under the aspect of their generality, without being differentiated one from another. And this grade is also called Wahda and the Reality that is Muhammad. The third grade is that of the second determination which signifies God's knowledge of His Essence, attributes and all existents under the aspect of their particularity



as being differentiated one from another. This grade is also called Wāhidiyya and the Reality of Man. These grades are uncreated and the priority and posteriority are logical not temporal.

The fourth grade is that of the World of Spirits, which signifies cosmic, abstract and pure things which are manifested in themselves or in their ideas. The fifth grade is that of the World of Ideas which signifies cosmic, composite and subtle<sup>1)</sup> things which are not liable to partition or division, nor rending or mending. The sixth is that of the World of Bodies which signifies cosmic, composite and dense things which are liable to partition and division. The seventh grade is that which combines all these, material and spiritual, and Wāhidiyya and Wahda as well, and this is the manifestation of the final parts and conditions (ilbās) which is Man.

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1) Reading al-latīfat for al-naṭifat



From Shamsu'l-Dīn's Nūr al-Dakā'ik (J.R.A.S. 1953 p.141 et seq.)

The Essence and Being of Almighty God have seven grades. The first is known as non-determination, the second as the first determination, and the third as the second determination. Non-determination is also known as Abadiyya, the first determination as Wahda and the third as Wahidiyya. The grade of Abadiyya is that of the Reality of God, i.e. His very Essence: Wahda is the grade of the Reality that is Muhammad and God's attributes, and Wahidiyya that of the Reality of Man. The fourth grade is that of the World of Spirits, the fifth that of the World of Ideas, the sixth that of the World of Bodies and the seventh that of the World of Man.

Abadiyya represents God's Essence, Wahda His Attributes, Wahidiyya His names and the remaining four grades His Acts. By God and with God, have no further doubt about this.

The first three grades are uncreated and eternal, for with regard to their being and reality they are one with the Essence and Being of God, and from knowledge of this the men of God may obtain a sure and perfect path to Him. The remaining grades on the other hand are known as the grades of God's being, for His Being is manifested in the four of them. These grades are created and perishable, although in actual fact the world of Spirits and the World



of Ideas are not perishable. It is only the World of Bodies that is perishable, and even this shall be restored to its former state by Almighty God on the Day of Judgement.



Translation of Javanese text quoted by P. J. Zetmulder in  
 Pantheisme en Monisme in de Javaansche Soloek-Literatuur.  
 P. 109.

15. The Shaikh well-versed in these matters declares thus: The Being of God has seven grades of which the first is that of non-determination, or that which is devoid of manifestation, for there the intelligibles have not yet arisen. It is also referred to as Hiddenness and is called the Absolute Essence and Being of God which is unknowable by any man, ~~not~~ even by prophets and saints.

(16) Not even the angels of the throne can attain the Essence of the Most High. This Being is unknowable and beyond experience; here the differentiation of His Attributes and Names has not become manifest. There is no outward sign of His existence, only His self is, and His names are Absolute Being, the Absolute Essence and Hidden Being. Who could have knowledge of such Being? (17)

Anyone who claims to know the Essence in itself is in error and playing with his life. If anyone does make such a claim, let him (in proof of it) erect a roof over the firmament, dig through the earth, empty the ocean and create for himself sun and moon. And if one wishes to know the Essence in itself, then let him accomplish these tasks first - this is our counsel. (18) Of these grades of being none are above Ahadiyya, all are below it. The



second grade is Wahda, which marks the beginning of determination. It is also known as the Reality that is Muhammad which subsists in God's hidden Being in the Conditions of the Essence. (19) The Realities, being still undifferentiated one from another exist in their generality within the Conditions, no intelligible is there differentiated, and all are still part of Wahda within the Reality that is Muhammad which is the commencing point of manifestation in the Conditions within God's Being.

(20) Shaikh Muhyi'l-Din, the Pole of Arab nationality, said: In my innermost self I, the Most High, am never absent; within the circle of His Exalted presence what is I is the Lord and what is I is Muhammad. (21) That which is called Wahda is the Reality that is Muhammad which belongs to the Conditions of the Essence where Knowledge, the Knower and the Known are still undifferentiated categories. At this grade there is nothing other than Wahda, for here the realities exist in their generality, undifferentiated one from another. (22) Those versed in Sūfī doctrine compare Wahda to a seed containing undifferentiated one from another tree, branches and leaves, and we may be compared to branches and leaves since we come from a single source. (23) They use another metaphor to illustrate the unity of all things in Wahda-that of ink in an inkpot. All the letters of the alphabet exist in



their generality in the ink, there being no differentiation of individual letters. And just as in Wahda in the metaphor all the letters are one so we and the Lord before our differentiation are one. (24) The third grade you should know is that of Wahidiyya, or the second determination, which is God's knowledge of His Being Attributes and Names. Thus in His knowledge the various roads branch out, nevertheless remaining within His knowledge. (25) There is no need to speak at greater length of Wahidiyya for there the individual ideas have their defined being but may not return to the state in which they existed at Wahda even though the form of the differentiated categories at Wahidiyya was decreed by Almighty God at the grade of Wahda.

(48) When you have understood these three grades, which are primary, then you should also learn the four exterior grades which are those of Spirits, Ideas, Bodies and the Perfect Man. These four are created in time and are the exterior manifestation of the Fixed Essences.

(50) All these grades are unified in the man for he is the place where the Divine manifestation displays itself, and where Wahda, Wahidiyya and the exterior grades are revealed together. This unification of the Divine manifestation is called: the Chosen Prophet.



Hamzah's emanation system. Doorenbos: De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri. P. 191 et seq.

Know that those of the path name the innermost Essence of God non-determination because our intelligence, skill, knowledge and experience are unable to attain it, not only is it beyond us, but even the prophets and angels are in awe. For this reason the Prophet said: May you be exalted! I cannot know You in Yourself. And he also said: Consider the creation of God, but not His Essence. This is why those of the path call it non-determination.

There are four species in the first determination Knowledge, Being, Vision and Light. The manifestation of these four is called the first determination, for from Knowledge are manifested the Knower and the Known: from Being the Creator and what is created: from Vision he who sees and what is seen, and from light what is illumined and that which illumines.<sup>1)</sup> All these i.e. the Knower & the Known, the First and the Last, the Manifest and the Hidden find their names in the first determination.

Those of the path call the Known the Fixed Essences, but there are some who call it the Reality of Things (ḥaḳīkat al-ashyā), others call it the Forms of Knowledge

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1) cp. Jāmī op. cit. p. 14.



(Suwar'ilmiyyah) and yet others the Spirit of Relationship (Rūḥ idāfī). These come under the definition of the Second determination.

The human soul, the animal soul and the vegetable soul are defined as the third determination. The fourth and fifth determinations are corporeal ones, and extend without limit to comprise all created things - which are also called determinations. These determinations are innumerable, but are not divorced from Knowledge, Being Vision and Light, for were it not for these four, the Owner of the determinations could not reveal Himself under determinations. For this reason those of the path say: The Being of the world is the being of God. Although the world appears to be being, in reality it is not, for it only receives its being from The Being which gives rise to determinations. It is only our ignorance which leads us to think the world has being.

The first determination is called Aḥad and Wāḥid, When we consider the Essence in itself it is called Aḥad, but when we think of it in respect of its attributes and relations ('ibārat) it is called Wāḥid, for Aḥad is called Wāḥid in virtue of its comprising all creation from its beginning to its end.



From Jawāhir al-ʿulūm fīkashī' l-maʿlūm by al-Rānirī.

MS Marsden 12151.

P.35 Huwa' l-awwalu wa' l-akhiru wa' l-zāhiru wa' l-bāṭinu

karena kapada-nya jua kembali segala sa-suatu yang dzahir pada ʿalam shahadat dan pada ʿalam ghaib saperti hal ada-nya dahulu ʿadam. Ia-lah Tuhan yang amat mengetahui akan segala sa-suatu, karena muhit dhat-nya akan segala sa-suatu, dan ada-lah hasil ʿilmu akan segala yang ʿalim dengan faid ʿilmi-nya. Bahawa-sa Ia-lah Tuhan yang lazim bagi-nya segala kamalat, dan dengan Dia-lah ka'im segala sifat. Dan lagi pula kata Shaikh Nuru' l-Dīn (p.36) ʿAbd al-Rahmān Jāmī, kaddasa' llāhu sirrahu, dalam kitab Lawā'ih<sup>1</sup>) bahawa hakikat al-haka'ik itu, ia-itu wujud Hakk taʿala, ia-lah hakikat segala ashya. Maka ada-lah Ia pada hadd dhat-nya esa, sa-kali<sub>2</sub> tiada berbilang, tetapi iʿtibar segala tajalli-nya dan taʿayyun-nya<sup>4</sup> jua berbilang mertabat-nya, yaʿni tajalliyat dan taʿayyunat jua yang berbilang, ia-itu daripada segala jauhar yang matbūʿ dan segala aʿrād yang tabīʿ. Maka dhat Hakk taʿala itu esa jua, sa-kali<sub>2</sub> tiada berbilang dan berbilang hanya-sa yang berbilang dan berbilang itu segala jauhar dan aʿrād jua, ia-lah yang kelihatan.

Maka dhat Allah yang esa itu, daripada pehak iʿtibar

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1) d.1492 cp. Brockelmann G. S.II p.285. Ms. has lawā'ih, but the correct title of the work is: Lawā'ih fī bayān maʿānī ʿurfāniya.



tajarrud dan itlak daripada ta'ayyunat dan takyidat di-namai Hakk, dan daripada pēhak i'tibar berbilang dan berbanyak segala madzhar dan ta'ayyunat yang kelihatan itu di-namai khalk dan 'alam. Maka 'alam itu dzahir Hakk ta'ala, ya'ni madzhar-nya, dan Hakk ta'ala itu batin 'alam ya'ni mendzahirkan dia. Maka 'alam itu, dahulu daripada dzahir-nya 'ain Hakk ta'ala, ya'ni ma'lum-nya pada diri-nya akan diri-nya dalam diri-nya. Dan Hakk ta'ala, kemudian daripada dzahir 'alam itu 'ain 'alam, ya'ni menyatakan 'alam, maka nyata-lah pada hakikat Hakk ta'ala jua yang esa lagi wujud hakiki.<sup>1)</sup> Dan segala mā siwa 'llāh itu, sa-kali<sub>2</sub> tiada berwujud hakiki, hanya wujud majai dan dzilli jua. Maka ada-lah dzuhur dan butun, awwaliyyat dan akhiriyyat dan segala i'tibar-nya bagi-nya jua, ia-lah awwal dan akhir, dzahir dan batin. Ada pun sa-s<sup>u</sup>atu shai yang esa pada wujud-nya sa-kali<sub>2</sub> tiada jadi berbanyak dan berbilang sakali pun. Tamthil upama sa-sa-orang insan atau suatu dian, yang terpassang, maka di-haturkan pada keliling-nya berberapa chermin yang berlain-lainan rupa-nya, sa-tengah besar dan sa-tengah kechil, sa-tengah panjang dan sa tengah pendek, sa-tengah betul dan sa-tengah hērut, sa-tengah peresih dan sa-tengah keroh dan barang sabagai-nya, ta'dapat tiada ada-lah kelihatan pada tiap<sub>2</sub> chermin itu rupa insan dan dian pada sa-bilang chermin itu

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1) cp p.241 Note 1.

↑ jikalau ia kelihatan pada beberapa tempat yang berbilang dan berbilang



dengan berubah rupa dan warna? Maka yang demikian itu sa-kali<sub>2</sub> tiada jadi berbanyak dan berbilang insan dan dian itu, lagi tiada berubah rupa dan warna kedua-nya, dan tiada berpindah kedua-nya ka-dalam chermin itu, dan tiada terikat kenyataan sa-tengah rupa akan sa-tengah-nya. Maka bicharakan olēh-mu hai insan yang budiman tamthil ini, supaya hasil bagi-mu 'irfan dan wijdan. Wa li 'llāhi 'l-mathalu 'l-~~sa~~  
la~~sa~~-a'la. ')

Demikian lagi wujud Allah yang esa, bila tamthil, upama insan dan a'yan thabitah itu upama segala chermin yang berlain-lainan laku-nya, Maka tajalli dan dzuhur Hakk ta'ala pada tiap<sub>2</sub> a'yan kharijiah itu sa-kira-kira patut dan layak penfimaan-nya jua, lagi tiada terikat dzuhur Hakk ta'ala pada sa-tengah a'yan kharijiah daripada sa-tengah-nya. Maka dhat-nya yang maha tinggi itu sa-kali<sub>2</sub> tiada jadi berbanyak dan berbilang dan berubah<sub>2</sub> sebab berbanyak dan berbilang segala madzhar-nya.

Hai salik, hubaya<sub>2</sub> peliharakan i'tikad-mu daripada terkelinchir kadam-mu saperti terkelinchir Wujūdiyyah yang mulhid dalam kufr, kata-nya: Al-('ālamu huwa 'l-llāhu,  
wa 'llāhu huwa 'l-('ālam, ya'ni: Bahawa wujud 'alam itu wujud Allah, dan wujud Allah itu wujud 'alam - maha suchi lagi maha tinggi Hakk ta'ala daripada kata segala zindik itu. Maka sebab terkelinchir merēka itu karena kurang 'ilmu, lagi tiada ia mengetahui istilah ahlu 'l-sufi pada isharat dan



‘ibarat kata merēka itu, dan sa-kali<sub>2</sub> tiada ia mengetahui ilmu tafsir dan hadith. Maka di-hēla-nya ma‘na segala hadith dan ayat mutashabihat kapada i‘tikad yang sesat, dan lagi di-ubah-ubahkan-nya ‘ibarat tafsir ayat kuran dan hadith (p.37) nabi Allah dan perkataan segala ahlu ‘illah. Maka berlaku-lah perkerjaan merēka itu saperti firman Allah ta‘ala: Yuharrifūna ‘l-kalāma ‘an mawādi‘ihi<sup>1)</sup> ya‘ni: Di-ubahkan merēka itu ma‘na kuran daripada asal ma‘na-nya.

Ada pun sebab sesat merēka itu karena salah ambilan-nya daripada kata Shaikh Muhyi ‘l-Din ibn al-‘Arabi,<sup>2)</sup> kaddasa ‘llahu dirrahu dalam kitab Fusus: Al-‘ālam<sup>3)</sup> huwa ‘l-Hakku ‘l-mutajallī bi jamī‘i sifātihi, ya‘ni: Yang ‘alam itu, ia-itu tajalli Hakk ta‘ala dengan segala sifat-nya. Dan daripada kata Shaikh Abdu‘l-Karim al-Jili, kaddasa ‘llahu sirrahu dalam kitab Sharh Miskat Futuhat<sup>4)</sup>: Mā thamma fāsilum baina ‘l-llāhi ta‘ālā wa baina ‘l-‘ālamī, bal huwa ‘aynu ‘l-‘ālamī wa ‘l-‘ālamu ‘aynuhu, ya‘ni: Tiada ada pecheraian antara Hakk ta‘ala dan antara ‘alam tetapi ada-lah Hakk ta‘ala itu ‘ain ‘alam dan ‘alam itu ‘ain-nya. Dan daripada kata Shaikh Muhammad ibn Fadlu ‘illah,<sup>5)</sup> kaddasa

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1) Kur. 4:46

2) ~~G.A.I.~~ d.1240 cp. Brockelmann G.I. p.441

3) Ms. ‘ilmu

4) d.1428 cp. Brockelmann G.II p.205 S.II p.283

5) d.1620 cp. Brockelmann G. SII p.617.



ʾillahu sirrahu: Wa anna jamīʿa ʾl-kāʾinati hattā  
 ʾl-dharrati lā yakhlūʿan dhālika ʾl-wujūd, yaʿni: Bahawa-sa  
 sakalian makhlukat itu, hingga sa-dzarrah jua pun, tiada  
 khali daripada wujud Allah itu. Dan lagi daripada kata  
 Shaikh Muhammad ibn Fadluʾllāh, kaddasa ʾllahu sirrahu.  
Faʾl-kullu huwa ʾl-ḥaqq, yaʿni: Sakalian-nya itu Hakk taʿala  
ḥashā li ʾllāh, sa-kali<sub>2</sub> tiada di-kehendaki Shaikh Muhyi  
 ʾl-Din ibn al-ʿArabi saperti ambilan zindik itu, kata-nya:  
 bahawa ʿalam itu-lah Hakk taʿala, hanya sa-nya murad daripada  
 kata Shaikh Muhyi ʾl-Din ibn al-ʿArabi itu telah nyata-lah  
 pada barang siapa yang ada bagi-nya sa-kurang<sub>2</sub> pendapat akan  
 ʿilmu tasawwuf bahawa maʿna tajalli itu, ia-itu madzhar.  
 Dan demikian lagi ḥashā li ʾllāh, sa-kali<sub>2</sub> tiada di-kehendaki  
 Shaikh ʿAbdu ʾl-Karim saperti ambilan mulhid itu, kata-nya:  
 Wujud Allah itu wujud ʿalam, dan ʿalam itu wujud Allah,  
 hanya sa-nya murad daripada kata Shaikh ʿAbdu ʾl-Karim itu,  
 ia-itu Hakk taʿala menjadikan ʿalam itu kenyataan-nya, yaʿni  
 madzhar-nya dan milēk-nya. Dan demikian lagi ḥashā  
li ʾllāh, sa-kali<sub>2</sub> tiada di-kehendaki Shaikh Muhammad ibn  
 Fadlu ʾllāh saperti ambilan zindik itu, kata-nya: bahawa  
 tiap<sub>2</sub> maujudat itu wujud Allah hingga dzarrah sakali pun,  
 hanya-sa murad daripada kata Shaika Muhammad ibn Fadlu ʾllāh:  
Wa ʿanna jamīʿa ʾl-kāʾinatin lā yakhlūʿan  
dhālika ʾl-wujūd, yaʿni: Sakalian itu, ia-itu bahawa ada-lah  
 Hakk subhanahu wa taʿala muhit pada segala maujudat hingga  
 dzarrat sakali pun, tiada keluar daripada ihatah-nya karena



Ia khalik, maka betapa dapat keluar mahlok daripada perēntah khalik-nya, saperti firman Allah ta'ala: Allāhu nūru 'l-samawāt wa 'l-ardī,<sup>1)</sup> Allah jua yang menerangi tujuh petala langit dan bumi. Jikalau keluar m<sup>a</sup>khlok itu daripada ihat khalik-nya, neschaya 'adam-lah ia, atau ada ia maujud mustakill sendiri-nya, maka yang demikian itu muhal ada-nya. Dan demikian lagi, hāshā li 'llāh sa-kali<sub>2</sub> tiada di-kehendaki Shaikh Muhammad Fadlu 'llāh saperti ambilan zindik itu, kata-nya: bahawa sakalian 'alam itu Hakk ta'ala, hanya sa-nya murad daripada kata Shaikh Muhammad ibn Fadlu 'llāh: fa' l-kullu huwa ' l-hakk itu ia-itu bahawa haka'ik segala mumkinat, yang ia daripada faid sifat Allah dan asma', ia-itu sakalian Hakk ta'ala.

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1) Kur. 24:35



### Translation

He is the first and the last, the Manifest and the Hidden, for to Him returns each thing that has been manifested in the worlds visible and invisible in its prior condition which is non-being. He is God, Who knows all things, for His Essence embraces all, and whatever anyone knows is by virtue of His knowledge. Truly He is God, to whom all perfections are necessary and in Whom subsist the attributes. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Rahmān Jāmī in his book *Lawa'ih fī bayān ma'ānī 'urfāniya* says that the Realities of Realities - i.e. the Being of God - is the Reality of all things. With regard to the definition of His Essence there is no plurality in Him it is only the aspects of His manifestations and determinations that have numerous grades i.e. it is His manifestations and determinations that are plural as they belong to substances, which are primary, or to accidents, which are secondary. The Essence of God is One, in it there is no multiplicity or plurality, it is only substances and accidents that are manifold i.e. visible things.

The Essence of God considered as absolute and void of determinations and limitations is called Hakk, but from the standpoint of the multiplicity of visible manifestations and determinations is called khalk and the world, for the world is the exterior of God, i.e. a manifestation



of Him, and God the hidden reality (bāṭin) of the world i.e. He manifests it. The world before it was manifested was the same as God i.e. something known to Himself for Himself and in Himself. And God, after the world became manifest is the same as the world, that is to say manifests it, for it is manifested through His Reality which is One and is true Being (wujūd ḥāqīqī)<sup>1)</sup>. That which is other than God lacks real Being, for what being it has is metaphorical and that of a shadow. Manifestness, Hiddenness, Firstness and Lastness and all other aspects are His so that He is the First and the Last, the Manifest and the Hidden.

A thing that is one in its being does not become multiple or manifold even if it may be seen in many places. If for example, a man or a lighted candle is placed in a certain position and mirrors of different kinds are set around them, some large, some small, some long, some short, some exact, some distorting, some clear and some dull and so on, will there not be reflected an image of the man and candle in each mirror with a different shape and form? But the man and candle have not become several, nor has the shape and form of them altered, nor have they

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1) this is an almost literal rendering of flash 25 of Jāmī op.cit. cp. translation and reproduction of text by E. H. Whinfield and Mīrzā Muḥammad Kazvīnī. R.A.S. 1914 p. 28.



passed into the mirror, nor is one of the reflections linked to any of the others. Reflect on this illustration, oh man of discrimination, so that you may achieve wisdom and intuition,..... and to God is due the loftiest similitude ..... Another comparison that can be made with reference to God's Being - is that man and the Fixed Essences may be compared to different mirrors. God manifests and displays Himself in each of the Exterior Essences in a way fitting to the receptivity of each of them without being limited to any one of them, although His lofty Essence never becomes plural or manifold or subject to change on account of the plurality and multiplicity of His manifestations.

Oh traveller, take care that your feet do not slip from the path of faith and you fall into the unbelief of the heretical Wujūdiyya who say: The world is God and God is the world - God is exalted above the words of those arch-heretics. They fall into this error through ignorance, for they do not understand the technical terms in regard to the meaning and implication of Sūfī teaching neither do they understand the sciences of exegesis and tradition. They distort the meaning of verses and traditions which bear a double meaning towards erroneous doctrine, and they persistently alter the meanings and interpretation of verses of the Qurān, traditions of the Prophet and the sayings of God. <sup>the Sants of As the Qurān says:</sup> they change words from their original meaning.



They have gone astray because they have taken in a wrong sense the words of Shaikh Muḥyi'l-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī in the Fuṣūṣ (al-Hikam): The world is God manifested through all His attributes. Likewise they have misinterpreted the words of Shaikh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī in his book Sharḥ Mishkāt Futuhāt: There is no division between God and the world, for He is the world and the world is He: and the words of Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh: No existent, not even an atom is without that Being: and also his saying: All is God. God forbid that ibn al-'Arabī should have meant what the heretics (sindīk) mean when he said: the world is God. Indeed what ibn al-'Arabī meant is clear to anyone who has the least idea of Ṣūfism namely that the meaning of tajallī is manifestation. Similarly God forbid that 'Abd al-Karīm should have meant what the heretics mean when he said: God is the world and the world is God. What he meant is that God made the world a manifestation of Himself i.e. something which is a revelation of Him and which belongs to Him. Similarly God forbid that Faḍl Allāh should have meant what the heretics mean when he said: No existent, not even an atom is without that Being. What he meant when he ~~said~~ that is that nothing escapes the all-comprehensiveness of God, for how can the creature evade the authority of the Creator. As the Kurān says: God is the light of the



heavens and the earth. If the creature leaves the comprehensiveness of the Creator, either he is nothing, or he has an independent existence, and that is absurd. Moreover God forbid that Faḍl Allāh should have meant what the heretics mean when he said: All is God. What he meant is that the realities of all contingent existents proceeding from the Divine attributes and names, are all God.



Extracts from Mss. Marsden 11648 translated by Marsden in His dictionary.

a) It behoveth us to know and to bear in mind and to believe and to regulate our actions by the meaning of the word "la ilah illa allah", in the Arabic language, in the Persian, and in the language of the people of Pasai. This symbol of unity signifies in Arabic "I have no other existence than that of God. As rendered in Persian it has the same meaning, and in the language of Pasai it has likewise the above-mentioned signification. Now the result of all these meanings and the intention of all that has been stated is to prove the unity of the essence of the Almighty, Almighty with all his perfections and to make manifest his greatness and his glory comprehended in that unity (Ms. p.204-6).

b) When God had created the Holy Ghost, that is to say the pure spirit, He said unto him, thou shalt be as a mirror, and in thee alone shall be beheld all existing things. Some time after the creation of the Holy Ghost, God created all spirits or souls, and the Holy Ghost is to all spirits what the stem is to the branches, and they are to him what the branches are to the stem: but branches which cannot be separated from their stem, nor fall off from it (Ms. p.172-4).



c) Now there is no other existence distinct from the existence of God, and all these numerous objects (of sense) serve only to manifest the existence of the one, so also do all visible qualities and visible attributes serve only to manifest his sole existence. (Ms. p. 116 ).

d) Whoever understands the words above mentioned will certainly know (what is meant by) his proceeding from God, and his (ultimate) return to him, and will certainly be aware that his own external nature is not distinct from the essence of the deity (Ms. p. 117 ).

e) It is with this object that some of the learned commentators have adduced an example of identity and diversity in the instance of "wave" and "water", for with respect to appearance and name, the wave is to be distinguished from the water, but if you view and consider them with respect to their real, internal nature, wave is not distinct from water, or only as far as regards exterior form and name. (Ms. p. 118-9)

f) Thus it is (in speaking of the visibility and invisibility of the deity) with the light of the sun which is transmitted to the moon, for the light of the latter is not its own proper light, but only that of the sun communicated to it, and consequently, the moon possesses only a reflected light from the sun. On this account it is that we sometimes see the moon shining with a full, and sometimes with a diminished light, and that at other times she is entirely deprived of light. (Ms. p. 119-2).



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